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BULGARIA

ZAREV'S REPORT AT THIRD CONGRESS OF WRITERS' UNION

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Oct 76 pp 1-7

[Report by Academician Panteley Zarev, chairman, Bulgarian Writers' Union:
"Toward a Broad Recreation of Our Contemporaneity"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Zhivkov, respected members of the Politburo and guests:

Comrades:

I am excited to note that the Third Congress of the Bulgarian Writers' Union will take place under remarkable historical conditions. After many years of experience in the building of socialism our country is entirely involved in the even more significant nationwide building of a mature socialist society. Firmly and conscientiously the people and the working class are implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress of our militant and principle-minded Communist Party. The exceptionally important July Plenum is contributing to the stabilization of the positive trends and to blocking the negative, the things which hold back the development of the economy and, in the broader sense, of the nation. This plenum exposed to the party, the people, to us, a number of negative phenomena so that their rejection may consolidate achievements and open a path to what is healthy, socially directed and socially useful.

Intensified material construction, the assertion of the socialist citizen, and the struggle for peace inspire ever new hopes. The Bulgarian citizen is developing the feeling of a discoverer. He is spiritually linked with the peak moments of our past history.

The changes which are taking place in the life of the nation and in the daily life of the individual are a prerequisite for the creation of a great, modern, epoch making literature, mature in content and in its artistic representation, for one realizes that in the comprehensive progress made by Bulgaria the place of the creator of spiritual values is becoming ever more responsible, and for the level of our nation is determined by what has been created and marked by immortality, and what has been artistically embodied.

Directed by the party, between the two writers' congresses, the Union's management was aware of its responsibilities. It tried to establish a suitable creative atmosphere which would stimulate the great historical objective. We firmly understood that the contemporary topic is basic, guiding, and most significant both in terms of topical plots and attitudes toward the overall life of the people, past and present. This belief, categorically suggested by the party and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statements, was sensibly adopted by most of our writers as well. It was no accident that Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report to the 11th BCP Congress indicated the already broad scope of contemporary topics, clearly stressing that "a change has occurred from a more or less individual to a mass orientation of the artist to problems of socialist contemporaneity." This party assertion contains the truth of the problem-topic profile of our contemporary literature and the result of the appeal formulated as early as 1958: "More Among the People, and Closer to Life."

Let us emphasize that in the education of the socialist and communist man the role of literature remains primary and is exceptionally important and totally irreplaceable, as was explicitly stressed at the party congress forum. This concept explains the constantly rising requirements facing the literary workers who must aspire toward major results in the artistic mastery both of the complex contemporary topics and of skill. Only rich and truly idea-minded, an intellectually and emotionally strong works can fully implement socio-aesthetic functions of literature. Halfworks, halfachievements, and pseudomodern formulations and pseudophilosophical and hifaluting works do not contribute to the high social purpose of the art of the written word.

We took a number of practical and theoretical measures to clarify the nature of our contemporary literature as a literature organically linked with the people, literature which reflects the problems and trends of social development. First the creative organization, the Writers' Union, addressed a letter to party and state okrug leaderships asking them to create conditions for the writers to visit places where the daily life of the work of the people takes place, where beats the pulse of popular life. This was a characteristic measure, a practical criticism of an immature alienation from life and of poor knowledge of the accomplishments of the people and of the mentality of the individual. Works of art linked through the people through a profound philosophical and emotional penetration into life will be created by studying and learning about the basic trends and characteristics in life, and understanding the social processes and psychological aspirations and reactions of the individual and the people's collective. It is impossible to depict contemporary characters without going through the most acute and conflict laden crossroads of today's life and morality, and of today's efforts of man to build himself up. We cannot achieve a broad and vivid recreation of our time unless the attention of the writers is not directed toward the creative life of the epoch in which are refracted characteristics of a local and national nature. The party and state leaderships responded to our appeal. We signed contracts with 25 okrugs and

various departments such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Transportation, and others. One way or another, 160 writers went over the glowing coals of life in longer or shorter periods of time.

The contemporary topic also called for the theoretical elaboration of the ideological-problem and artistic-emotional nature of present-day literature. Knowledge of life and enhanced skill merely protect the positions of socialist realism as our leading method. That is precisely why a number of conferences were held such as the nationwide conference on which a rich discussion was held on contemporaneity and contemporary topics, on ways and means of expression and their many facetedness, and on the ideological-aesthetic prestige and moral authority of the writer. A conference was held on humor and satire and on the complex and conflicting relations between social awareness and private life and behavior, conflict relations which require a live, varied, critical and humorous assessment. On the occasion of this conference, meeting its participants, Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed the remarkable thought that criticism must offer a dynamic assessment not only of satire but of our entire literature. He modeled in his speech the stages which were covered by the people and the party after 9 September, earmarking the development of our artistic literature. He particularly emphasized the ideological-political stability of the problem of the humane attitude toward man in our society.

A conference on children's and adolescents' literature was also held. As a result of our initiative a decision is being drafted by the Politburo on this important segment of art and literature.

For the first time the Union's administrative council introduced the practice of discussing individual works, assessing what is good and insufficiently good, knowledge of life and enhanced or lowered skills, with the help of a discussion on successes and failures. Such was, for example, the discussion on the so-called "gray stream." In the press and in the course of the discussions problems of the limits and significance of the contemporary topic, its comprehensive impact and nuances -- socio-psychological, artistic-aesthetic, conceptual-moral -- were discussed extensively.

It was precisely the healthy and tranquil atmosphere in the Union's life and activities and of the overall literary process that were of great importance to such comprehensive practical and theoretical activities. We were helped in the development of such an atmosphere by the party and the okrugs and, particularly, by the Council of Chairmen of Creative Unions of the Committee for Art and Culture. The psychological climate in which works are created and in which appears the inspiring and pulsating strength of every individual creative worker was of great importance to us. Guiding the process through practical and theoretical work we took into consideration the significance of the atmosphere of maximal trust in which alone good accomplishments could be achieved.

Whatever the social conditions direct or indirectly related to the writer's work may be, his mission in the spiritual life of the nation and, therefore, of mankind is a specific individual exploit. It is a question of the total dedication of mind, talent, willpower, feelings, work, and emotions facing the white sheet of paper. The noble manifestations of man and, particularly, of the creator, is inconceivable without this personal exploit. The history of literature, along with the history of Bulgarian literature, is full of tragic yet instructive examples in which the exploit of the creative worker has taken place with the most energetic opposition of the society and of all possible forces outside the writer, taking place despite misery, poverty, persecution, censorship, police policies, or neglect and underestimation of Botev and Karavelov, Vazov, Elim Pelin, Yavorov, Smirnenski, Geo Milev, Vaptsarov, and the unforgettable young poets of Bulgaria's partisan epic. These are some of the examples we could cite.

We have become accustomed to the idea that in the past the great Bulgarian writers have a short life, dying young, leaving this life crushed and embittered and, sometimes, killed by enemy bullets, while, despite this, their work remained completed, streamlined, amazing with its strength and permanency.

Now, as in the past, and even more than ever before, more than under any other type of spiritual climate, the question of the artistic exploit arises, i.e., of the noble work, direction and optimal artistic accomplishments. We need a complex synchronized unity between the spiritual climate created through the joint efforts of the party and the Union and the individual work of the creative worker. Such an understanding of the unity between the collective and individual will will continue to yield results, eliminating administering procedures and enhancing the rather complex and purposeful artistic implementation.

I emphasize all this speaking of a feature which is characterizing ever more clearly our literature and which fills us with pride for the responsibility of the Bulgarian writer to his own work and his own mission in the life of the nation. It is as though every more noted and more talented worker tried to give as much of his talent as possible, invest his "blood and heart" in his work, improve it conscientiously, converting it into his own spiritual identity and standard. This aspiration proves an upsurge toward maturity, concentration on the task, and penetration and farsightedness even despite omissions, errors, and even failures. The feeling of responsibility toward one's own talent is a quality which indicates the maturity of our entire literature and general culture. The times are irrevocably passed in which conversations on talent were considered as mythical fables, fables of subconscious activity and of maintaining the aesthetic thesis of the self-seeking purpose in art. To us talent is a mind, a higher quality of capabilities, and a path to maturity. I would like to give several examples of such self-exactingness which leads to maturity: Georgi Karaslavov and Emiliyan Stanev, followed by Pavel Vezhinov

and Bogomil Raynov, and followed by Yordan Radichkov and Nikolay Khaytov, as well as some younger prose writers; and Elisaveta Bagryana, Dora Gabe, Khristo Radevski, Mladen Isaev, Valeri Petrov and Blaga Dimitrova, Georgi Dzhagarov, Payel Matev, and Lyubomir Levshay, in poetry. As you may see, I am choosing entirely different prose and poetry examples. However, the same situation prevails in playwriting where I would name Kamen Zidarov. Such is the case in the other genres as well. These examples are partial, for we could list many more names. Should I be asked what is a distinguishing feature of our literature in the past few years in all genres I would begin by answering as follows: the feeling of responsibility of the writer toward his own talent, his awareness of his mission in the ideological assertion of the new, and his work on contemporary and most effective expression. A number of works have made me think of this and these are the feelings that I experience from works such as "Obiknoveni Khora" [Common People] by Georgi Karaslavov, "Antikhris" [The Anti-Christ] by Emiliyan Stanev, "Noshtem s Belite Kone" [At Night with the White Horses] and "Barierata" [The Barrier] by Pavel Vezhinov, "Tozi Stranen Zanayat" [This Strange Occupation] by Bogomil Raynov, "Domut s Makhagonovo Stulbishte" [The House with the Mahogany Staircase] by Andrey Gulyashki, "Vsichki i Nikoy" [Everyone and No One] by Yordan Radichkov, "Generalna Proverka" [General Inspection] by Kamen Kalchev, "Prezhiveni Razkazi" [Experienced Stories] by Dobri Zhotev, "Sinut na Direktora" [The Director's Son] by Emil Manov, "Rekata" [The River] by Ziko Fuchedzhiev, "Svetut Vechev, Svetut Sutrin" [The World in the Evening, the World in the Morning] by Atanas Nakovski, some novels, novellas, and collections of short stories by Ivaylo Petrov, Vasil Popov, Gencho Stoev, Doncho Tsonchev, Dimitur Vulev, Krum Grigorov, Radoslav Mikhaylov, and so on. It is with similar emotions that I leave theater halls after having seen "Cain and the Magician" by Kamen Zidarov, "This Little Earth" by Georgi Dzhagarov, "The Golden Cover" and "The End of the Day" by Dragomir Asenov, "From the Earth to the Sky" by Nikola Rusev, or "Judge for Yourselves" by Kol'o Georgiev, or after reading the new poems and verses by Mladen Isaev, Khristo Radevski, or Dimitur Panteleev, or the books by Bozhidar Bozhilov, Dimitur Metodiev, Pavel Matev, Lyubomir Levchev, Blaga Dimitrova, Radoy Ralin, Damyan Damyanov, Petur Karaangov, Vladimir Golev, Georgi Svezhin, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Marko Ganchev, Ivan Radoev, Andrey Germanov, Lilyana Stefanova, Matey Shopkin, Nikolay Khristozov, Orlin Orlinov, Nayden Vulchev, Stanka Pencheva -- they are too numerous to mention!

Allow me to reemphasize the fact that it is precisely the healthy and creative climate, proper understanding of the nature of our contemporary literature, and listening to the voice of the party leadership that create prerequisites for upgrading the individual responsibility of the writer toward talent and his personal maturing and enhancement. In turn, this enhanced individual responsibility strengthens the general climate of relations among writers and the atmosphere in which literary processes take place. It produces in literary life greater professionalism and purity of mores and, I would say, greater wisdom. The mission of a great talent is too big and ambitious to enable him to spend the time for digging

into petty, insignificant, and base matters. Wherever we come across cheap and unworthy manifestations, and with what is second-grade in the human personality, we also usually come across petty and doubtful talent or crying neglect of individual obligations toward talent, a lack of "moral hygiene" for its nurturing and development.

Speaking of some characteristic features about recent literature I must indicate a feature which is becoming ever more striking and which deserves the attention of the public and of literary theory and practice -- the ever clearer aspiration toward an original style, toward a "personal presence" within general developments. It is a question of a deliberate effort on the part of many to leave behind them a "unique world of factors and ideas" which will single them out as creators with different voices and individualities. In conversations, evaluations, and practical accomplishments we have tried to support both a rapprochement with life and with the reality of the people's way of life, as well as this individual originality. Our theoretical and evaluation efforts have been paralleled by the great efforts of our creative workers themselves. A glance at great literature throughout the world will inevitably prove to us that this aspiration is usually a manifestation of upsurge and blossoming of a culture. In particular, we judge of a literature not only on the basis of its quantitative indicators -- number of writers, number of books published, average standards, and so on -- factors which are important in an initial stage. We judge of a literature above all according to the number of great people, and great names which it releases. A great name in the realm of art means, above all, vivid originality, the ability to be close to the time and the working people, to create a new artistic universe, to settle it with your own subjects, and to display them to the world as the immediate reality. Remember the way some writers are noteworthy by their characters -- each of them special and unique, each suitable to fill the space of his time.

This aspiration toward one's own significant and original world is already manifested in the works of a number of our contemporary socialist writers. Suffice it to look at Pavel Vezhinov's characters in his two most recent works in which the characters have been depicted strongly, with great artistic power, along with profound contemporary ideas, or the novels and stories by Bogomil Raynov in which expressive conditions of the spirit are sought in a dramatic tension, the stories and novels by Ivaylo Petrov, Nikolay Khaytov, Vasil Popov, Gencho Stoev, and Dobri Zhotev, or the number of small novels by Ivan Davitkov. Suffice it to read some of the old or latest works of Yordan Radizhkov, immediately distinguished by their expressions and the strange Radizhkov world, and his specific characters and their strange yet always down to earth relations. This aspiration to have one's own voice and topic may be seen also in the plays by some of our playwrights such as Georgi Dzhagarov, Lozan Strelkov, Dragomir Asenov, Nikola Rusev, Kol'o Georgiev, or Mikhail Velichkov. It is present in the poetic world of Bozhidar Bozhilov, Valeri Petrov, Aleksandur Gerov, Pavel Matev, Lyubomir Levchev, Dimitur Pantaleev, Vanya Petkova, Ivan Tsanev, and Rada Aleksandrova, and in the "urbanizing" rural world of Slav Khr.

Karaslavov, Andrey Germanov, Ivan Davidkov, and Evtim Evtimov, and so on. It is noteworthy that originality is organically linked both with the author and his personal possibilities, as well as the complex spiritual originality of our time.

The years keep passing and changes accumulate. Today we can no longer recognize the Bulgarian village not only when comparing it with the village 30 to 40 years ago in capitalist Bulgaria; we no longer recognize it even from a closer distance such as, for example, compared with what it was 10 to 15 years ago. What has the past village retained in the national biography if not the powerful and unique picture which we call "the world of Elin Pelin" or "the world of Yovkov?" How could we recognize the Bulgarian in moments of tragic exaltation and upsurge for freedom, the Bulgarian as lover of homeland and pure patriot, unless we touch again the "world of Zakhari Stoyanov" or "the world of Vazov?" The contemporary creative worker is in a similar position and has a similar obligation.

As we know, literary forecasts are risky. It is difficult to assess who will be swept off by the times, who will remain on the crest, and who will be of interest to the future readers and citizens. However, one thing is already clear: the future will judge the Bulgaria of yesterday and today, and the Bulgarian of the past 30 heroic and dynamic years which converted our country into a country of irreversibly victorious socialism, by the world which will be found between book covers. After years contemporary Bulgaria will be judged from the worlds of Georgi Karaslavov, Emiliyan Stanev, Vezhinov, Khaytov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Dragomir Asenov, Dimitur Metodiev, or Lyubomir Levchev. Their testimony to the subsequent generations must be honest and complete. They must become a sort of national memory, a bridge linking the times. I have given merely a few examples. However, such prospects and possibilities we see also in the works of Iliya Volen and Dimitur Angelov, Veselin Andreev, Georgi Mishev, Kosta Strandzhev, Zera Mutafchieva, and others. Both our pre-9 September classics and our socialist classics have given us rich traditions in this direction. The people have accepted once and forever a start of their spiritual way of life the "world of Dimitur Dimov" and "the world of Talev." These are unfading chronicles of times still close to us, still within us. Nevertheless, we feel it as being the past, being yesterday.

The novel on a contemporary topic and the long short story on a modern topic we have seen of late lead us to such thoughts, for Gulyashki, Kalchev, Manov, Vezhinov, Raynov, Zhotev, Radichkov, Radoslav Mikhaylov, Vladimir Zarev, Dimitur Yarumov and many other story tellers open new layers of people and relations, depict characters previously unknown in Bulgarian prose, and detect problems of exceptional importance created by the contemporary stage in the country's development. The new character who is entering our plays, as was experienced quite clearly in some contemporary plays staged in the course of the Fifth National Review of the Bulgarian Drama and Theater, the new conflicts affecting the daily life of our Bulgarian people, as seen on the stage, and the embryos of new features in the spirituality of young and old and, particularly, of the adolescents

are all topic territories unknown to and undeveloped by our classics. How could they have been developed if it is a question of two Bulgarias. In yesterday's one could not even assume the existence of such problems, conflicts, relations, characters, and so on. They were born and multiplied in the course of the 30 socialist years. Let us mention for the sake of justice that to a certain extent the spirit of innovation is also imbuing some poetical manifestations on civic and intimate topics, accompanying the searches of lyrical writers as well. We call to a spirit of innovation also the vast territory of the very important literature for children and adolescents in which, along with the old characters and old motifs modern times are beginning to penetrate with their characters -- we have in mind some books by Asen Bosev, Nikolay Zidarov, Georgi Strumski, Anastas Stoyanov, Tsvetan Angelov, Anastas Pavlov, Leda Mileva, Radoy Kirov, and others.

It is with such a spirit of innovation that I explain to myself not only the journalistic pathos of some works of prose and some plays, but also poetry, explaining also the appearance of a number of interesting publicistic books written by Veselin Yosifov, Serafim Severnyak, Vasil Popov, Yuliyana Vuchkov, Lada Galina, Kol'ov Sevov, and others, particularly noteworthy among which is "Bodlivata Roza" [The Thorny Rose] by Nikolay Khaytov. This is a book which does honor to our contemporary literature with the vivid civic position of its author on one of the most sensitive problems of our century.

Comrades, in order not to engage in vain talk, and to supplement the picture allow me to discuss briefly the individual genres and trends and note their characteristic aspects.

Unquestionably, the most outstanding successes were achieved in the field of prose. I indicated some of them. Our prose no longer has a narrow view of life. Also in the past is the period in which writers could be roughly divided into urban and rural, when "production" novels and stories were manufactured, and when one of the features for giving preference was affiliation with the specific thematic circle. Both the critics and the cultural public developed and imposed lasting and essential criteria alien to all oversimplification and vulgar sociology or temporary fashions.

I am saying all this in order to indicate the various activities of the prose in the past period, activities which should not be interpreted simplistically or superficially. It is a question of extensive topic searches, and a rich spectrum of plots. The Bulgarian prose writer continues to seek the kernel of eternity, and to dig out the hot coals of the history of mankind and of Bulgaria's most ancient times, from Emilian Stanev "Antikhrisht," and Andrey Gulyashki's "Zlatniyat Vek" [The Golden Century] to "I se Vuzvisikha Asenovtsi" [And the Asen Dynasty Rose] by Slav Khr. Karaslavov, "Alkiviad Veliki" [Alcibiades the Great] by Vera Mutafchieva, and others, to unfinished dramas in the recent Bulgarian past such as "Zubato Sluntse" [Rugged Sun] by Dimitur Mantov, "Generalna Troverka" by Kamen Kalzhev, "Mansardata" [The Garret] by Ivan Martinov, "Zalezut" [Sunset] by

Kostadin Kyulyumov, "Prezhiveni Razkizi" by Dobri Zhotev, the documentary book "Ro-2. Otdefenito na Smurtta" [Ro-2, Death Section], by Viktor Barukh, and "Krustoput na Oblatsi" by Georgi Aleksiev. His strength grew by discussing the epic and heroic initial years following 9 September 1944, when the foundations of today were being laid with all the dark and bright sides: "Vsichki i Nikoy" by Yordan Radizhkov, "Tazi Kruv Nyama da se Prolee" [This Blood Shall Not Be Shed] by Dragomir Asenov, and "I Doyde Denyat" [And The Day Came] by Vasil Ak'ov.

However, most of the Bulgarian prose writers deal category with the present, with our reality with its dynamics and variability and its prospects. Here again there are different themes and preferences. Side by side with strong and typically urban normals such as those of Pavel Vezhinov, Bogomil Raynov, Andrey Gulyashki, Emil Manov, and others, there are works written specifically on the working class and on various realms of life by Emil Koralov, Gencho Stoev, Kosta Strandzhev, Atanas Nakovski, Ivaylo Petrov, and Petur Slavinski. A number of writers are excited by the recent and most recent changes in the villages: "Esenno Seno" [Autumn Hay] by Stoyan Ts. Daskalov, "Iz Dnevnik na Mutara" [From Mutar's Diary] by Krum Grigorov, and "Kardinal" [Cardinal] by Dimitur Vulev. Some look at the complex and conflicting migration processes, and the transportation of the peasant into an urban citizen and worker as in the stories by Georgi Mishev, "Korenite" [Roots] by Vasil Popov, and some stories and essays by Stanislav Sivriev. In turn, a number of "urban" storytellers are concerned, above all, by purely moral problems and present-day conflicts which they try to interpret either satirically such as in "Bureni" [Weeds] by Orlin Vasilev, "Tunelut Sulamansh" [The Sous la Manche Tunnel] by Petur Neznakomov, or "Kakto v Zhivota" [As In Real Life] by Gercho Atanasov; in a dramatic black and white contrast such as "Blagosloven Zhivot" [A Blessed Life] by Kliment Tsachev, "Priznanie" [Admission] by Radoslav Mikhaylov, or "Zdravey, Greshniko" [Hello Sinner] by Konstantin Kolev; or with a view to depicting the leading forces in our society, the leading figures which mold the present and future aspect of the socialist person: "Nay-Severnuyat Sever" [The Northernmost North] by Stefan Poptonev, "Vecheren Chas" [Evening Hour] by Bogdan Gloginski, "Flagman" by Vurban Stamatov, "Avtobaza Zheludna" [Zheludna Bus Stop] by Anton Antonov-Tonich, "Rabotnizheski Syuiti" [Worker Suites] by Armand Barukh, or "Otvori, Az Sum" [Open Up, It's Me] by Lilyana Mikhaylova. Successes have been scored by the strong prose writers developed in the past decade dealing with most modern topics, writers such as Stanislav Stratiev, Lyuben Petkov, Rashko Sugarev, Rosen Bosev, Dimitur Yarumov, Dimitur Korudzhiev, and Stoyan Boychev.

Mystery novels have developed and successes have been achieved in science fiction. Recently Andrey Gulyashki published "Poslednoto Priklyuchenie na Avakum Zakhov" [Avakum Zakhov's Latest Adventure]; we encounter Boev, Bogomil Raynov's character again in his latest novels. New supporters and fighters are added in the struggle with crime in all its forms and manifestations: "Alkiviad Malki" [Alciabiades the Small] by Vera Mutafchieva, some novels and scenarios by Atanas Mandadzhiev, Lyuben Stanev, and Anton Donchev, and so on.

After Pavel Vezhinov some successes have been achieved in science fiction by Lyuben Dilov with his "Putyat na Ikar" [The Path of Icarus], and "Moyat Stranen Priyatel Astronomut" [My Strange Friend the Astronomer].

Very clear successes have been achieved in the field of humor and satire originally represented by Petur Neznakomov, Miron Ivanov, Khristo Pelitev, Vasil Tsonev, Khaim Benadov, Ivan Arzhentinski, and Gencho Uzunov.

The internal enrichment of the genres, of prose in particular, has been a characteristic phenomenon in the development of our literature in recent years. In their desire to surmount dogmas, seek a more direct contact with the readers, and achieve a direct manifestation of their creative individuality, some of our novelists sought new and contemporary novel forms or else resurrected some forgotten prose possibilities.

It is no accident that a genres such as the travelogue has developed precisely in recent years, saturated with modern problems and triggered by the direct contact between the Bulgarian people and the overall nature of the planet. Some such travelogues have their separate artistic value. Let us mention in this connection the names of Lilyana Stefanova, Lada Galina, and Nevena Stefanova. It is interesting that it is precisely Bulgarian women writers who have shown an emphatic inspiration to enrich the travelogue with philosophical, political and moral problems.

Playwriting has been developing in a variety of directions and their topics have been truly impressive.

Some of the playwrights turn to history but not for the sake of digging in the ashes or depict widely known advance or biographies of kings and statesmen but to find modern reflections and draw general laws and assert permanent values: "Cain and the Magician," by Kamen Zidarov, "From the Earth to the Sky" by Nikola Rusev, and "The Crucifix" by Rangel Ignatov; others turn to the antifascist struggle whose school of courage and moral firmness are just as necessary today -- "The Exceptional Chance" by Kol'o Georgiev, "Unexplainable Love" by Medyalko Yordanov, or "The Long Silence" by Mikhail Velichkov; others again, whose number is growing with every passing season, have turned to reality around us, seeking its problems and conflicts, tracing the molding of the virtues which in fact, rather than the catechism, are developing the communist code: "This Small Earth" by Georgi Dzhagarov, "The Golden Cover," by Dragomir Asenov, "Judge for Yourselves" by Kol'o Georgiev, or "Radiation" by Georgiev Svezhin. A study is being made of the problems of the personal responsibility of the party members to the future and their emotions and concerns, the good and the unacceptable in their behavior as citizens and parents or as managers or performers: "The Man from the File" and "The Burning Coal" by Lovan Strelkov, "The End of the Day" by Dragomir Asenov, "Women's Years" by Nadezhda Dragova and Purvan Stefanov, or "Roman Bath" by Stanislav Stratiev; others promote the great examples of idea-mindedness and endurance which have become forever part of our history, such as "The Brown and the Red" by Ivan Radoev. Successful plays have also been written by

Todor Genov, Boyan Balabanov, Lada Galina, Georgi Danailov, and Velichko Neshkov.

Reaching a high level at its Fifth National Review, our theater is continuing to develop aggressively even though not always sufficiently evenly and energetically in every season or not always on a sufficiently broad and rich scale. This is a fact which legitimately calls for formulating new requirements and new perspectives for our workers in the theater.

Speaking of contemporary plays let me particularly emphasize their discovery nature in the realm of moral and ethical problems, the building of the new man, his development as the builder and soldier for the new in the course of the acute and daily conflicts with the open class enemy, as well as the durable supporters of the "small truth," and all essentially regressive forces which were dealt with so openly, consistently, and courageously at the recently held July Central Committee Plenum.

In the period under consideration as well the trends characteristic of Bulgarian poetry over the past two decades continued to develop and renovate and intensify themselves. I would describe them as April trends. This means that the poets of socialist Bulgaria are remaining true to themselves, to their inner voice and style, and to their preferences. Totally identical poets have become a sad old memory. The April spirit which rules contemporary Bulgarian literature is felt with particular emphasis in the huge and beautiful poetic territory.

One of the most characteristic features of this tremendous and beautiful poetic territory is the activeness of the poets of all generations. We are familiar with the happy truth that after the fresh April 1956 breeze many of the older poets experienced their "second youth." It was in this favorable spring climate that they created their most significant works.

Vivid supports of this thought are books of poetry such as "Counterpoint" by Elisaveta Bagryana, "Compressed Silence" by Dora Gabe, "Warm Land" by Dimitur Panteleev, or "No Rest for You" by Mladen Isaev. Let me add to this very partial list of the veterans individual works of poets such as Khristo Radevski, Atanas Dalchev, Angel Todorov, and Krum Penev. In addition to everything else, these poets refuted the old formula that poetry is a privilege of youth. They continue to prove the fact that poetry depends not on age but on the poet's spirit.

I said that activeness is one of the most characteristic features of the contemporary Bulgarian poets. In a number of cases this is an activeness-first, as Pen'lo Peney has said of "saying things so far unsaid, of saying words so far unsaid."

There is yet another fact which is the pride and joy of contemporary Bulgarian poetry. It is the truth that in our country there are no talented poets who are either silent or becoming silent. Only thus could we explain the rich creative harvest of the old creators marked by books

such as "The Flags Are Angry" by Ivan Peychev, "Joint Hands Are Undefeatable" by Venko Markovski, "The Magic Source" by Dimitur Gundov, "Specks of Dust" by Aleksandur Gerov, "Late Admissions" by Vladimir Goley, "Everything Will Be Repeated" by Dimitur Metodiev, "How" by Blaga Dimitrova, "The Future Is Our Home" by Bozhidar Bozhilov, "Deer Snows" by Nikolay Zidarov, "Accumulated Silence" by Pavel Matev, "Advance of the Cypress Trees" by Ivan Davidkov, "Fiery Orbit" by Lilyana Stefanova, "Turnovgrad Tale" by Matey Shopkin, "Bread and Salt" by Stanka Pencheva, "A White Sheet" by Ivan Radoev, "Colors" by Nikolay Staykov, and "Blue Flower, Train, Woman" by Nayden Vulchev. Liana Daskalova, Vanya Petkova, Lyudmila Isaeva, Vut'o Rakovski, Ivan Nikolov, Yanko Dimov, Nino Nikolov, Evstati Burnaski, and Ivan Burin were active as poets and authors of individual books or works.

I would add to this large number of authors and books books with selected poems, such as "The Bread of the Days" by Aleksandur Muratov, "Poetry" by Valeri Petlin, "Sometimes" by Georgi Dzhagarov, selected poems by Venko Malkovski, the books of the "generation" sequence by Petur Karaangov, Orlin Orlinov, Purvan Stefanov, and Dimitur Stefanov, and others. Despite the long list, allow me to mention several other vivid books of poetry which enriched and varied the panoramic view of modern poetry: "Freedom" by Lyubomir Levchev, "Visiting One's Self" by Slav Khr. Karaslavov, "Stone Earth" by Andrey Germanov, "Enchantment" by Anastas Stoyanov, "Happy, Sad and Bright" by Danyan P. Danyanov, "Wounded Silence" by Nikolay Khristozov, "Bitter Wine" by Evtim Evtimov, "The Sea Is Coming Back" by Mikhail Berberov, "Rear View Mirror" by Marko Ganchev, "I Am Asking" by Stefan Tsanev, "Granitovo" by Luchezal Elenkov, "Manly Years" by Khristo Bankovski, "Sunday Earthquake" by Ivan Tsanev, "Dove with Burning Wings" by Georgi Konstantinov, and others.

This long list of good books raises a natural question: what are the main trends in them?

The best answer to such questions is provided by the collection themselves. Nevertheless, should we sum up briefly the characteristic features of today's poetry, we should indicate, above all, its closeness to the outstanding problems of our socialist times. These problems may be described most differently: socio-political, patriotic, international, or moral-ethical. The main thing to emphasize in this case is the fact that the Bulgarian poets are seeking and finding the most direct ways to the spirituality of our contemporary -- the constructive man, the spiritually developed social individual. It is precisely in this search and discovery that we find the great variety of styles in terms of poetic form and content.

Our literature for children and adolescents also took new confident steps in the period under consideration along the path of its ideological-artistic development and enhancement. The beneficial process of the further expansion and intensification of the topics of our literature for children and adolescents continued, along with the enrichment and consolidation of some until recently somewhat neglected genres. All in all, there has been

an increased exactingness and self-exactingness in enhancing the level of creative work for the young.

A characteristic feature of recent years has been the effort of some authors to direct the influence of their works mainly on the emotions of the child, or, as we usually say, to influence the education of feelings. A lesser number of works are being published relying on circumstances and explanatory narrative, on the "event" by itself and for itself, on descriptiveness which is usually crowded, sluggish, amorphous, and on the "bare" fact or "bare" knowledge.

Let us stress that in recent years we have noted a broader development of our literature for children in terms of genres. For example, there is an obviously greater interest in the creators of modern tales. We encounter tales in poetry and prose. There has been a substantial development of picture books for the smallest children. There has been a noticeable motion in the short genres -- puzzles, rhymes, and others; in the field of humor, including humorous prose -- tales, stories, and novels; in plays and motion picture scenarios for children and adolescents, in radio and television broadcasts, in cartoons, in puppet shows, and so on.

A considerable number of authors from all generations are participating in our modern literature for children and adolescents. The influence of new names is also natural to our tradition. In the period under consideration new works were published by our poet for children and adolescents such as Dora Gabe, Khristo Radevski, Asen Bosev, Leda Mileva, Tsvetan Angelov, Nikolay Zidarov, Kalina Malina, Luchezar Stanchev, Ivan Davidkov, Aleksandur Muratov, Mikhail Lukatnik, Liana Daskalova, Vladimir Golev, Radoy Kirov, Dimitur Svetlin, Nikolay Sokolov, and Plamen Tsonev, and noted poets such as Georgi Strumski, Marko Ganchev, Andrey Germanov, Slav Khr. Karaslavov, Dimitur Stefanov, Krust'o Stanishev, Evtim Evtimov, and Ivan Nikolov. Authors such as Nedyalko Yordanov and Ivan Tsanev made their successful beginning in poetry for children.

In the field of fiction new works were written by Georgi Karaslavov, Emil Koralov, Kamen Kalchev, Nikolay Khaytov, Veselin Andreev, Petur Slavinski, Stoyan Ts. Daskalov, Petur Neznakomov, Dimitur Gulev, Kol'o Georgiev, Kosta Strandzhev, Vasil Tsonev, Nedelcho Draganov, Lyuben Dilov, Boris Krumov, Boris Aprilov, Mile Malkovski, Kiril Epostolov, and Kiril Bozhilov. Playwrights and prose writers such as Georgi Danailov, Stanislav Stratiev, and Simeon Yanev displayed taste in and understanding of works for children. As you may see, the list of names is considerable.

Considering the creative results of the work of the SBP and of the writers, in recent years, and noting the new features in the overall creative process and in the development of the individual writer, we must say a few words on the wave of young people in literature, of the forthcoming replacement. We are obligated to do this by a number of manifestations noted by the aspiration toward high professionalism, the existence of a standard of style, freshness in the material, and attempt to penetrate unknown topics. In addition to established authors such as Georgi Velichkov,

Stanislav Stratiev, Vladimir Zarev, Lyuben Petkov, Rashko Sugarev, Dimitur Yarumov, Dimitur Korudzhiev, and Rosen Bosev, I also mean the first and second books by Kuncho Atanasov, Pen'o Yoychev, Todor Velchev, Georgi Malkovski, Dimitur Shummaliev, Stoyan Boychev, Stefan Landzhev, and others in prose, the beginnings of Konstantin Iliev and Georgi Danailov for the stage, and the poems of Kalin Donkov, Borislav Gerontiev, Iliya Velchev, Kalina Kovacheva, Miryana Basheva, Ekaterina Yosifova, Ivan Golev, Tan'o Klisurov, Emil Simeonov, Mincho Minchev, Petur Parizhkov, and others, in poetry. We are happy to see young writers enter literature with the clear awareness that peaks have been reached which they could reach themselves only on the basis of expensive and solid training and a serious attitude toward all the details of their "craft" if they will forgive me for this expression, and only through tireless work to improve their skill in creating characters and depicting human relations.

In the pages of our publication the critics paid special attention to them. This is proper and necessary. The young replacements deserve this. Acknowledging their high achievements, nevertheless, I would like to express a critical remark toward them, particularly important from this rostrum: the as yet unreached yet entirely necessary ideological scale and vital aggressiveness; still-reduced social interest and the suppressed and minor tone which occasionally dominates. It is a question of the lack of a missionary and prophetic passion which, in the great writers, has converted their work into a primary factor of social life. Without all this even the most carefully and conscientiously trained writer will remain in the realm of the insignificant, on the periphery and, in the final account, the circumstantial. I must point out this, encouraged by the thoughts which I develop in contact with some of our young writers in the field of Soviet literature and after reading the novels and stories by Razputin, Bykov, Belov, Nosov, and others. They have impressed not only their homeland but are rapidly becoming popular throughout the world. According to me this is entirely deserved for they ardently take from life, their words are militant, full of the pathos of truth and the aspirations for moral renovation. Their characters are big, created with a scope so that we see behind them the present and the future. Their psychological penetration is deep and mature. Their summations are complex and contradictory yet facing the new. The young Soviet prose is in a state of upsurge. I emphasize this for this fact must be taken properly into consideration by our young storytellers as well whose ambition and creative charge are serious. The time has come for them to assign themselves major tasks even more difficult and worthy of our socialist homeland.

If we were to sum up the impression created in the past years we could say that all genres worked thematically and ideologically-aesthetically to resolve through art the socio-moral problems of our time. All genres aspired, with most emphatic success, to draw life from deep within, to take forward the vanguard personality in our society -- the man, the creator and transformer with his tireless faith and willpower. Naturally, in order to be accurate and self-critical we should add that despite the wealth and variety of characters and images, we still lack very strong

top summations which would lead the depicted characters to their epoch-making significance. I have named many names and book titles. However, demands could be made even concerning the good works of an individual author and the many things within the panoramic view on our literature. We should have an artistic power over the material, a psychological depth and a level adequate to the high yardstick of our times.

It is precisely the successes that make necessary a final note in this accountability part of the report. It is a question not only of the great and already traditional progressive manifestations of our literature but of the extensive participation of the writers and representatives of this most ideological art in all sectors of our present-day culture. They are not only creating books for adults and children, for millions of readers, but without them our theater could not exist. All successes in Bulgarian plays are successes of the Bulgarian theater. They intensify its ideological and artistic functions.

Such is also the question of the development of the Bulgarian motion picture and, particularly, Bulgarian feature films. Considering the present condition of film making in our country, when our feature movie industry is producing 20 feature films per year for cinematographic purposes alone, the participation of Bulgarian writers in this great production and creative process is tangible. This is a rewarding process not only for the motion pictures but for literature itself. Through the film screen ideas, images, the national character, and the socialist way of life, the moral and social problems of our people in its present development, national traditions, the historical fate of our homeland, and the social and class battles, manifested in literature, could be rapidly disseminated thanks to the tremendous international contacts and number of film forums. Let us recall here the most significant titles of our feature motion pictures recognized both by our public and internationally: "Capricorn," sold to 80 countries throughout the world, scenario by Nikolay Khaytov; "Love," which was awarded the grand prize at the penultimate Moscow film festival, scenario by Aleksandur Karasimeonov; "Ivan Kondarev," by Emiliyan Stanev; "Dawn Over Drava," scenario by Pavel Vezhinov and Rangel Ignatov; "Anvil or Hammer," scenario by Lyuben Stanev and Ivan Radoev; "The Flight Room," scenario by Bogomil Raynov; "Cottage Area" and "The Census of Wild Rabbits," scenario by Georgi Mishev; "Tatul," "Village Correspondent," and "Daughter in Law" by Georgi Karaslavov; "Recollection of the Twin" by Konstantin Pavlov, and many other movies. At the present time the Bulgarian cinematography is putting on the screen the play by Georgi Dzhagarov "This Small Earth," "Sofia Stories" by Kamen Kalchev, "The House with a Mahogany Staircase" by Andrey Gulyashki, "Cyclop" by Gancho Stoev, "They Died Immortal" by Veselin Andreev, "Matriarchy" by Georgi Mishev, "Manly Times" by Nikolay Khaytov, "Barrier" by Pavel Vezhinov, and other works by modern Bulgarian writers.

Thanks to the Bulgarian writers our film producers were able to create a number of motion pictures noted by the Soviet film critics and the critics of the fraternal socialist cinematographies as a success not only of the Bulgarian motion pictures but socialist cinematography throughout the world. This included motion pictures such as "Eternal Times," scenario by Vasil Popov, "A Tree Without Roots," scenario by Nikolay Khaytov; "The Last Summer," scenario by Yordan Radichkov, and "Peasant With Bicycle," scenario by Georgi Mishev, dealing with important social processes such as migration and the related psychological changes in social thinking. Unquestionably, Bulgarian feature films, as an art loved by the masses, are a powerful factor in the socialist aesthetic education of the people and, particularly, the youth. A large group of writers are employed as full time scenario writers or editors within the Bulgarian cinematographic system, such as Valeri Petrov, Anton Donchev, Lyuben Stanev, Nikola Rusev, Radoy Ralin, Todor Monov, Georgi Mishev, Ivan Ostrikov, Vasil Ak'ov, Emil Petrov, Petur Karaangov, Aleksandur Karasimeonov, and others. The participation of Bulgarian writers in our contemporary culture, in a number of sectors, encouraged to sponsor meetings and general talks with the management of the Bulgarian Cinematography, the Actors' Union, the Committee for Television and Radio, the Committee for the Press, the Bulgarian Painters for Children's Illustrated Books, Bulgarian composers of popular songs, determining our active participation in the "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities, and Mass Information Media" complex. Along with the efforts of developing creative problems and along with the efforts linking creative workers with life -- links with the okrugs -- this involvement was another important aspect of our activities.

Comrades, following the accountability part of the report, presented so far, and before turning to some topical problems, I would like to discuss yet another matter.

We all owe our successes mentioned here to the times, to our people and, particularly, to the live, dynamic, and close daily efforts of our party. Our accomplishments are based on the wise policy initiated with the April Plenum. Our congress is taking place on the 20th anniversary of the April Plenum and I cannot ignore the profound significance and principled formulations adopted at that plenum, subsequently developed and made the foundations of our present successes.

In our spiritual eyes the epoch of socialism is spreading, wise and dynamic. As a new and legitimate historical movement, it could be compared with what occurred in the great periods of the past, when the progressive ideas also illuminated the horizons of their century, our national liberation revolution, for example. However, assessed on such a high yardstick as well, our contemporary epoch is tremendous. Filled with many efforts and opening paths for progress, it is also creating a new national experience. It is leaving behind it the past with its monuments, a past even though significant life. Metaphorically speaking, the epoch of socialism is opening infinite scope with new views, peaks, valleys, and heights.

I say valleys, peaks and heights for this vanguard epoch has its inner complexity. It has its intimate aspects, filled with contradictions. That is precisely what makes us hold on to the earth, to the concrete nature of facts and phenomena.

By the mid-1950's there was a clash between the fresh and renovating ideas of the present and the future, the ideas of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, and the mental and ideological tuning which had developed under the cult of personality. The harmful norms which had been established were rejected. Scope was given to the individual manifestation of the mind. The spiritual energy kept within iron frameworks was liberated.

The years will go by and an ever longer distance will separate us from that which was. However, the significance of that plenum will not pale. It opened the path to the open and free thought, giving it individual life. Strong aspirations toward creativity could be found behind the plenum's party discussions. One could see the rediscovered faith in principles and, along with it, in the future of Bulgarian culture.

The party had contributed to the progress of the arts even prior to the April Plenum. However, we needed a drastic liberation from the pressure of violence. We needed an act of self-awareness and victory over subjectivized will so that art may prevail again. Only the victory over subjectivism could open again the horizons of creative and free originality. Let me state immediately from this rostrum that the person who promoted the April Plenum and who contributed to the development of its ideas was, and still is, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our party's first secretary.

Looking at the changes which took place after the plenum in the various realms of life -- economic, social, and cultural -- we cannot fail to experience the wings of a creative mind. Commonsense was established gradually and perspicaciously in the complex field of culture as well. The ideas of the mandatory encounter between the creator and reality, and of the substitution of illusory knowledge with artistic authenticity became reality. Falseness, glossing, self-delusion in knowledge were rejected in literary practice. The searching spirit, concern with the problems of life, and manifestation of the creative individuality became important. The incense which had been "lit" in all directions by those worshipping at the altar of the cult of personality scattered rapidly. Veneration of foreign authority, deliberately supported, was replaced by the increased personal feeling of everyone and faith in the truth, in Lenin's truth, and in principle-mindedness. The writer was aware of his place in society and was seeking the truth, disbelieving that which was outside his experience. The wills were being tuned for the struggle against the opposition of yesterday's dogmatized knowledge. Vivid lights had begun to shine in the eyes and in the blood. A young literary generation appeared, justifiably described as the "April" generation. It was quite varied and spoke in many voices. Its strength lay in transformation, in the novelty of its ideas and in its closeness to the times. It already felt that its daring voice was echoed. It realized that its courage to be in the thick of life

creates the truth and originality. It converted art into conscience. It reached the heights of its ethical skies without bypassing the strictness of reality.

For the past 20 years the April Plenum has provided mental food to philosophers and sociologists, aestheticists and writers. The meaning of what has happened was investigated. Results were reassessed comprehensively. The new which appeared and the old which was rejected were put on the scales of justice. Gradually a measure for progress appeared -- the increased unity between literature and society, and its influence, ideological and aesthetic, on our times. I am pointing out all this for our great present successes are based on the April Plenum and on the party's policy in the spirit of the plenum.

Aesthetic thinking was enriched. Past achievements were reassessed. Zeal developed to penetrate into present times.

Such was, in its general lines, the impetus which the April 1956 Plenum gave literary life. It was an event which marked the beginning of a comprehensive upsurge, which led ahead the inexhaustible development of socialist literature.

Through difficulties and attacks from the right or the left, this development sailed over hidden rocks. Literary upsurge was experienced anew, painful and inspired, to reach the present with its successes, its depths and scope, and its plans for the future. We must also add that we should consider the April Plenum and its ideas, its class, moral and cultural positions not as something historically temporary but as lasting principled phenomenon. Our literature has been thematically separated from the literature created immediately after the plenum. We no longer take as topics the cult, the philosophical and moral reassessment of the behavior of the individual immediately following the cult. However, the basic historical trend of studying the life of the people and our socialist times remained. Also retained has been the spirit of creative search and artistic freedom which has led our literature to its present successes.

The study we made of the nature and significance of the April Plenum and its reflection on culture inevitably demands a more concentrated look into the new which has entered literature and which has established itself as durable trends in the works of the individual creative workers and in the sum total of complex progressive processes. This newness is not limited merely to the broadening of the artistic ground or the enrichment of topics; nor can it be reduced to the "resurrection" of some somewhat neglected traditions, positive in terms of their end results, dialectically encompassed by socialist realism. The new aspect in the post-April period has deeper measurements and substantive indicators which we must see and interpret. It seems to me that we already have both the practical and theoretical grounds for drawing the necessary summations. Allow me to direct your attention on three important aspects. Naturally, we must not forget that they neither exhaust nor could exhaust the entire characterization of Bulgarian literature over the past 20 years.

First. The "sovereign" right of the truth, of the rich and truthful depiction of life, frequently sacrificed to all possible postulates and formulations under the pressure of a doctrinarian aesthetics and political and aesthetics supervision, was restored. Truth and truth only: this was the "holy of holies" of the giants of the past. This is one of the most important keys in unraveling their immortality. Socialist realism adopted this maxim in its aesthetic platform on the very day of its birth, enriching it with new ideological and philosophical aspects. The long neglect of factual truth during the cult dessicated literature, depriving it of its effectiveness and charm, ejecting on the surface unviable, and stereo "standards." Such "standards" failed to withstand the test of time, even though they had been frequently covered with praises and awards. It was not fear of the truth but faith in the truth and its fullest and comprehensive revelation and mastering depiction that the April Plenum took us to; this is where the tempestuous renovation of our artistic thinking and its broadening began.

Let me cite a single example which is quite indicative in itself even though it does not cover all aspects of the problem of truth and truthfulness, and of the "daring view of life": the intensified respect for the fact and the wave of documentaries and documentary literature in the broadening of the term, which rapidly and convincingly impose itself as a genres and as a new form of manifestation of some other wise "traditional" storytellers and poets. Our critics paid and continue to pay attention to openly documentary literature. They noted on time and analyzed with the necessary attention the works of Dobri Zhotev, Veselin Andreev, Kamen Kalchev, Nikolay Khristozov, Lilyana Stefanova, and David Ovadiya. Furthermore, they discovered the internal link between our documentary literature and the development of documentary literature throughout the world and, particularly, Soviet literature. All this is the truth. It is a question, however, of a most profound feature -- a broader documentary nature, concrete historicity in our entire modern literature, in all its genres. It is here that truth, and faith in truth, in the fact, in authenticity appeared in the full aspect, becoming artistic reality. This marked the implementation of the aesthetic principle of being close to the people, close to life, and of perspective dominating petty truth, of skipping the individual and the temporary. All this was possible only in the atmosphere which was developed in literary life. Faith in fact and authenticity is an important prerequisite. However, it does not exclude but presumes a profound and penetrating Marxist interpretation. I would also add that it presumes a poetic rise through the emotions of the writer and his involvement with the concealed subtext. This equally applies to the depiction of facts and the use of the past sources in Bulgarian historical novels which, in my belief, is considering the past with an essentially new approach.

Second. Following the April Plenum and, particularly, today with our serious attitude toward class-political and contemporary-historical and cognitive content, the significance and prestige of the individual-creator who has firmly realized his original views and original attitude toward the topic have categorically risen. We could also add that the "sovereign" right

to artistic individuality was restored, whose features have always been uniqueness, originality, subjectiveness in its most noble and inspired terms. It is as though we outlived the narrowed understanding of the epic, considered for quite some time as just about the dry objectiveness, sterile in terms of the author's presence, and deprived of the voice of the "author-character." The enhanced significance of the creative individual demanded the intensification of emotional coloring in general in artistic prose, enhancing, in general, the emotional element in playwriting. Naturally, this may not be reduced merely to the emotional coloring or emotional element. To a greater or lesser extent they have never been alien to the Bulgarian creator. It was a question of internal autonomy of the creative worker to approach reality also with a view to his own concepts of life and history, and the destinies of the nation, from the viewpoint of his searches and "models" which do not conflict with the categories of life, and his proper ideological convictions. Thus the epic abandoned its two dimensional nature -- fact and Marxist interpretation -- becoming enriched with yet another dimension -- the philosophical and moral interpretation of the author. Thus, the drama became comprehensive, involving plot and thinking. Thus poetry intensified its sitting position through psychologism. As proof I would point out, in addition to the work of noted prose and drama writers, those of younger prose writers, poets, and playwrights. The emancipation and rapid blossoming of the creative individual were among the most important consequences of the April Plenum in literature and its living development.

Third. I would like to stress in particular a new aspect which has become noticeable and possible only recently, after a considerable experience had been acquired by the creative workers and in the life of the nation. It is a question of the deliberate aspiration to build a contemporary concept of man consistent with the mature socialist society. The party has already pointed out the ideological meaning and political significance of the concept of man in the socialist society, emphasizing its significance in the confrontation of ideas and in the struggle against the forces of reaction and moral annihilation. Allow me to stress the tremendous role assumed by literature in the development of this concept of man and the exceptional significance which every character of our contemporary acquired, when he is depicted convincingly and strongly, with rich graphic means, when he conquers and "contaminates" the way the characters of classical literature conquered and "contaminated." Some western theoreticians like to point out (and recommend) as an example Huxley's skeptical and egocentric intellectual, Bellow's weak powered and helpless character, and Sallinger's pure yet entirely self-contained youngster -- all such "characters" who reflect, more or less, the western way of life. What are we opposing to this as a social and psychological alternative? Unquestionably, this includes Leonov's intellectuals, the fighting Soviet soldiers of Konstantin Simonov, Vasil Bykov, Yuriy Bondarev, and Aleksandur Chakovskiy, the optimistic tragedies of Chingiz Aytmatov, the Siberian communists, as well as the Russian characters of Belov, Astafiyev, and Nosov, with their fabulous moral self-exactingness. Allow me to add proudly that we have ever more of our own Bulgarian opposites of western "models," not fabricated and

invented but drawn from life, seen in their work and daily lives, in the building of the socialist society -- characters we encounter in the prose, plays, novels, and sketches of dozens of talented essayists and journalists whose activeness of late has been combined with the desire to reach a qualitative level. Our concept of man is dynamic and changing, as is our reality. However, it has its strongholds and clear marks which we note either in a novel or a play, or in the music of a poem or a verse. The new man is no longer a fabrication, a dream, or a vision. He exists, he is around us, and it has become our primary duty to tap him, to depict him profoundly and richly and comprehensively with typical concentration, rejecting in advance theses and systems, and surmounting intellectual ideas about him. That is why we claim that a successful character of a positive hero is a step forward not only in the clarification but the assertion of the socialist concept of man. As to the strongholds of this concept, they are numerous and always growing. However, they always include the communist vanguard nature of the personality, respect for man, concern for the common interests, strive toward spiritual and moral self-advancement, creative attitude toward labor, and retention of age-old popular virtues, loyalty toward experienced ideals, paid for with precious victims, and selfless love for the homeland. Bulgarian literature is participating most actively in the noble aspirations of literatures of the fraternal socialist countries in building a new concept of man systematic in its humanism.

Comrades:

So far I have stressed the overall development of our contemporary literature and its successes and the struggle for them, as well as their deep tradition of the ideas of the April Plenum and their contemporary aspect. However, our literature received its assessment at the 11th Party Congress. This assessment must become the focal point of our attention.

The Accountability Report delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov rated highly the growth of our contemporary literature.

"Eighteen years ago," Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, "the Central Committee raised the slogan of "more among the people and closer to life!" We could say today with satisfaction that in recent years and, particularly, between the two congresses, we can see a change from the more or less individual to a mass orientation of artists toward problems of socialist contemporaneity. The best representatives of our artistic intelligentsia have created works which reflect truthfully and with increased professional skill the basic processes in life and the growth of the new man. As valuable achievements of Bulgarian socialist artistic culture, these works confirm the correctness and fruitfulness of our party's April line and of the Leninist principles governing the guidance of literature and art, and the method of socialist realism" (Central Committee Report to the 11th Congress, p 123).

This concise and correct balance drawn from the rostrum of the most responsible forum of our party notes several essential aspects. They include, above all, the change which has occurred in recent years of the mass orientation of the artists toward problems of socialist contemporaneity. The party's slogan of "more among the people and closer to life" has become reality in the practice of the Bulgarian Writers' Union as the organizer and motive force of the great creative process of our literature. The report mentions the increased professional skill of our writers in reflecting the basic processes of our socialist times and the full, rich and varied depiction of the character of the modern man and his growth and development. It is emphasized that these achievements are the result of the fruitful April line and the application of the Leninist principles in the guidance of literature and art and of the method of socialist realism.

Unquestionably, the creative workers of all generations who invested their talent and skills in the building of our contemporary literature deserve the greatest credit for such a happy and promising assessment. A number of managements of the Bulgarian Writers' Union also deserve credit. They spared neither efforts nor time to move ahead this exceptionally important creative process -- the reflection of contemporaneity in exciting highly ideological and artistic works. Great efforts were invested in this noble cause by our union management as well which accomplished this change mentioned in the Central Committee's Accountability Report. From the very first days of our mandate we subordinated all organizational measures of the Bulgarian Writers' Union to the single main objective -- creative problems. From the very first days of our activities we concentrated on the solution of this primary and general problem: linking the creative workers with their times and with the lives of the working people and of the working class as a vanguard of our socialist society. Our objective was, and remains, the mastering of the broad front of our time -- in depth and width -- in order to reach the peaks of artistic skill which would give us the right to speak of a competition with our classics and of equal participation in the great worldwide literary process. We consider the questions of skill, knowledge and idea-mindedness as profoundly dialectically linked. It is only in their unity that we could find possibilities for the creation of socialist classics.

We reach now the other assessment found in the report to the 11th Party Congress. It states:

"At the same time, we must clearly stress the fact that the change which is developing in facing the problems of our time has not as yet led to a change in the mastering of contemporary topics in their entire historical scale and significance. The striving toward a truthful communist party-minded art is obvious. Also obvious is the desire to create ideologically and artistically significant works on our time. There is no lack of talent among all generations of creative workers. Obviously, the main hindrances on the path to the implementation of good intentions and aspirations are the insufficiently proper knowledge of life and the underestimating of the struggle for high artistic skill" (p 124).

As you may see, comrades, the question of the contemporary topic as the main topic of our socialist literature, is raised in profound connection with the radical problems of the knowledge of life, the strength and ideamindedness, and the enhancement of artistic skill. The need is indicated for an organic link between content and form. This is a prerequisite for the creation of historically broad, profound, and exciting works of art. Our task is to decode properly the significance of the "historical scale" concept mentioned in this very important party document. The artist cannot remain on the margin of the great socio-political changes which continue to take place in our life. He cannot remain indifferent to the tremendous economic changes, the psychological changes in society, and the deep dislocations which have taken place with the migration from the village to the city. These are spiritual migrations from one to another way of life. One cannot ignore the present national characteristics of man who has joined such changes and fail to discover behind the common man the representative of the new society, the party member, as the motive force in life. In our view, here we should seek the "historical scale" of works of art and the philosophy and ethics of our society maturing into socialism. Without a psychological and moral-ethical understanding we cannot determine the scale of the changes, of the great spiritual migrations which carry concealed ideological and artistic values.

The solution of this complex problem is within the possibilities of all genres: prose, poetry, plays and movies. There can be no priority in this respect. Naturally, prose and, particularly, the novel have unlimited possibilities for the broad depiction of our contemporary reality. Prose has a great deal of advantages, beginning with the great analytical and epic canvases describing the comprehensive moral-political and psychological changes in the life of the nation, and ending to short, intimate confessions characterizing the spiritual world and moral conflicts of the individual. Here we must look at that which leads us forward. We must see the scale of the deep contemporary changes.

Contemporaneity is complex. It includes both positive and negative aspects, possibilities, and manifestations in our entire way of life. It is a substance in which we discover components of the past and the future. Every day we come across paradoxes, for we may have advanced exceptionally greatly in one area and fallen behind in another. Contemporaneity is monolithic. Yet it is a conglomerate consisting of thousands of little particles. It is a projection of our entire past life, and, at the same time, it goes beyond it with the promise of change. It is conservative and rather mobile: that which was true yesterday is not always true today. Any stop causes our reaction and any fast step triggers a reaction as well. Contemporaneity is objective. However, we always have a subjective attitude toward it. We either try to "restrain" it, anchor it, or else, conversely, we try to explode it, to push it forward rapidly. That is how we rely on contemporaneity and fight with it. To us it is always the beginning of something and the end of something else. This is where we find the idea of the scale, of the exceptional changes which have taken or taking

place. This is where the truth of the man of our time is, the naked truth, an instance in our lives and an eternity in our historical existence.

In connection with all this I would like to discuss some problems directly linked here with the mentality of the contemporary person, significant in terms of his contemporary broad depiction,

Our contemporary is substantially different by virtue of his communist convictions and his new intellectual qualities. Preserving the age-old features and virtues of the Bulgarian, he acquires new current features.

It would be difficult to imagine the contemporary world and, particularly, the contemporary person without the profound, the radical changes which a socialist reorganization has made to the life of our people. It created prerequisites for a new type of behavior and for socialist moral and spiritual existence. It takes to the vanguard of life the best representatives of our people. Every society has its vanguard. In our society it consists of the working class, the working people, their morality and working life.

It would be difficult for us to imagine today the person without the changes to which he was subjected by the scientific and technical revolution. As we know, this revolution ripened as early as the turn of the century on the basis of some fundamental discoveries in the natural sciences, physics in particular. For decades it lagged behind its initial start because of the shortsighted, predatory, and grossly exploiting nature of the capitalist society. Egotistical and ignorant, interested exclusively in their personal profits, the capitalists considered these sciences (theoretical physics in particular) rather abstract, not directly related with their production, rivalries, and profits. The scientific and technical revolution was born factually from the needs of the war. Unfortunately, its initial fruits were rather bitter, not to say inhumanly cruel and terrible. The unparalleled human stake at Hiroshima speaks more clearly than any word. The technical revolution contributed to drastic increase in production forces on the basis of epoch-making discoveries. It was able to resolve some of the most urgent problems of the capitalist countries. The bourgeois ideologues and theoreticians were ecstatic. They unanimously claimed that the darkest stage in the development of mankind -- the stage of political struggle for a new social system -- had been eliminated forever. They claimed that the scientific and technical revolution with its tremendous production possibilities would make social struggles meaningless while a social convergence would be born of a new world of abundance in which the class struggle would become merely a dark memory.

Yet 10 to 15 years passed and now even the most ecstatic voices and biggest optimism have been replaced by dark concern, fear, hopelessness and faithlessness in the future and, in some cases, monstrously pessimistic forecasts. Naturally, the scientific and technical revolution was unable to resolve a single one of the urgent social problems of even the most

developed capitalist countries. It became clear that the destruction of the environment, the exhaustion of natural resources, and the destruction of the human personality are problems which could be resolved only within a unified worldwide socialist society. Otherwise the most advanced cybernetic and electronic systems as the Massachusetts Computer Center would continue to forecast the defeat of the human society and civilizations within no more than 100 years.

Today the scientific and technical revolution could serve fully, humanely, promisingly, and durably only the socialist societies. The scientific and technical revolution and socialism are inseparably linked and interdependent as means for surmounting all obstacles on the path to overall human progress. It is only under socialist conditions that the products of its output could be distributed humanely and justly, protecting this output from the unparalleled waste of raw and other materials, insure on a worldwide scale environmental protection and creation of natural conditions for the development of the human personality, and guarantee the human personality itself from destruction and self-destruction. Furthermore, it could raise the personality to heights unparalleled in previous historical epochs. By themselves, neither the scientific and technical revolution nor the production process could be the objective or ideal of any sensible human society. No sensible and humane society strives to satisfy merely the consumer needs of its members or their consumer greed. Any sensible and just society, our society, presumes an entirely different approach to the satisfaction of human needs -- above all, common sense in consumption, thrift, and strictness concerning excesses, in the interests of the future development of human society, until the technical revolution itself resolves all reproduction problems.

As we may see, new and essential human features which cannot be ignored by literature are appearing along with social changes and with the scientific and technical and spiritual advancement in our national life. The new man does not represent merely a sum total of theoretical problems. He must be discovered and asserted within the phenomena of life itself. By virtue of its specific nature, literature may accomplish this most profoundly, most strongly and most convincingly. It has been called upon to discover as well the harmful influences which accompany any development, to detect their sources, and to assess them properly. The presentation of a full and accurate picture of our life means to outline the shapes of that which we consider the socialist way of life, bringing to light its most essential features mainly in the spiritual and moral-ethical realms.

In his December Plenum speech Comrade Todor Zhivkov warned that in no case could the socialist way of life be described as a consumer way of life. In his report to the 11th Party Congress he reemphasized that the socialist way of life is basically a new, richer and more humane way of life. At the July Plenum, this year, he extensively developed this thought with the help of economic and moral-negative data. He spoke of cases somewhat ignored by literature. Man and social problems may be found behind the

facts in terms of destinies, conflicts, relations within the family, and mentality. It became once again clear that at the present state of our development the socialist conscientiousness of the people is displayed most completely in the attitude toward socialist labor and its results. To us, the writers, the socialist way of life is the richest reserve for topics, ideas, and characters. The discovery of all differences in our way of life means to discover the basic truths of the socialist society focused in the facts of life. It means to discover the very features of the new socialist society: its ideals, morality, and real profound stimuli governing its existence. The new man does not appear readymade. He is not born automatically merely through the change in production relations, even though it is precisely they that are the foundations of this process. Literature plays an important role in depicting the clear outlines of life, converting the idea into an image accessible to human thoughts and feelings. The nature of the problems must be grasped by everyone.

Marx frequently stressed that to the capitalist labor and technology are objects of exploitation and profit. To the socialist person, conversely, they are a subject -- a means of existence, a meaning of existence, a possibility for displaying the best features and talents of his personality. Improvements in modern technology, its complexity, and the need for exceptional skills to improve and develop it require people with high intellectual qualities, talents and abilities, and with varied and profound knowledge which, a century ago, could not be achieved even by the greatest of scientists. Education and scientific training among the most essential features of the scientific and technical revolution. It would be difficult for our technology to grow unless we develop and improve our education, and unless we specialize and are prepared to handle its exceptionally complex problems and seek ever higher stages of knowledge.

However, this is merely one side of the problem. A great deal has been written on the man-machine problem. There is a great deal of truth in some serious cautioning voices which fear, to different degrees and for different reasons, that machines will depersonalize man, for the machine is not Elin Pelin's "old ox." You cannot pet it or tell it a kind word. The machine is inanimate. It is frequently not understood by and hostile to the one directly servicing it. Even when we know it well and become accustomed to it we are always ready to replace it with a new machine -- more convenient, more productive, and even more easy to handle. We discarded with indifference and relief. The machine cannot trigger feelings such as a domestic animal or even like household utensils one has made oneself. However, in our society, under socialism, the machine elevates us intellectually, making a worker out of the peasant, and a conscientious worker for socialism out of the worker. Whereas in the west it creates alienation, in our country it creates the highly intellectual and highly moral unity between man and society.

There is yet another matter, speaking of man: the rich spiritual content of his personality. The information phenomenon is characteristic of our

world. Today this information is tremendous, reaching us along a great variety of channels many of which such as, for example, television, are of a visual nature, i.e., extremely easy to perceive. Nevertheless, the information flow is growing at an incomparable pace. Essentially, this fact should be assessed as positive. Thanks to the information media the culture of the modern man is far higher than that of his predecessor. He has more knowledge in all areas of life and a higher social and political awareness, particularly when such information is true, and mentally profound, as is demanded by society and the socialist way of life.

Such are the scales which face the contemporary artist and the "secret" of our contemporary national mentality he must find. At the same time, the writers should not ignore some negative phenomena. The concept of socialist humanism must not be distorted. It is not linked with the protection of the petit bourgeois or of social parasites. This triggers a profound conflict both in society and literature. Society, the common man today opposes the petit bourgeois with his entire spiritual narrowness. Society and the common man also opposes he who is unable to find the true moral criteria of our time.

Such thoughts are triggered by some of the negative consequences of the technical revolution. Steadily and imperceptibly it separates us from the natural environment in the course of which the human mind has been slowly shaping over hundreds of thousands of years. These processes of alienation from nature are being studied, for the time being, by pathologists only. In order for the pathologists themselves not to become their victims, obviously the alienation processes must be stopped. Here again literature with its observations and studies could play a particular role.

As writers we cannot fail to pay attention also to some negative features of the information and mass culture phenomena. Information along currently familiar channels is quite accessible and digestible. More frequently, however, it is superficial, particularly when it comes to the most significant fact of science, culture and art. An individual relying on his cultural education mainly through mass information media, with nothing else, risks to become a semi-intellectual. An individual who lightheartedly would abandon a good book for an accidental piece of news or a hastily concocted yet easily digestible television information risks remaining spiritually poorer than his predecessor who was unfamiliar with television. Naturally, saying this we do not wish in the least to exaggerate the dimensions of the evil. The facts eloquently show the increased spiritual interests of the modern man. We are speaking of a true explosion in the search for Bulgarian fiction. Good books, even though published in several tens of thousands of copies, are sold out in a matter of days or even hours. Whereas almost all over the world the size of motion picture audiences is constantly declining, in our country it is growing or, at least, is remaining stable. The number of people watching Bulgarian feature films is increasing. Good data are also coming from the Bulgarian theater, public libraries and reading rooms, and concert halls. Art has become a vital food of the Bulgarian citizen in dimensions which, even 20 years ago, would have been considered inconceivable.

We may consider it somewhat strange that along with the unquestionable enhancement of the cultural standards of the socialist person, some shortcomings quite characteristic of the bourgeois society exist as well. This applies, above all, to the consumer element. It is alien not only of our socialist way of life but of the Bulgarian character accustomed, in the course of centuries, to strict mores, industriousness, and thrift. Its carriers are, above all, some parasitic strata, vestiges of the former classes, who are able to acquire through a great variety of means that which we describe as unearned income. Their main interests are focused on market possibilities. Their great objective in life is a table feast. For the time being, true, there are few such people. However, their example is contagious. Most unfortunately, those who are least suitable as their company are beginning to adopt their way of life. Many working people, regardless of where they work -- the field, the mine, the editorial rooms, or the stage -- but who work bravely and earn well -- believe that this is a method which would enable them to spend their money better. Once again, on an entirely different basis, the old petit bourgeois rule of "eat for tomorrow you may die" is becoming widespread. Naturally, is not a question of eating and drinking, for the people also say "let this be for every one." The problem is that such celebration feelings are beginning gradually and durably to replace other interests in one's own work, and social life, not to mention cultural life and cultural means. From lighthearted celebration this is beginning to turn into a way of life, into a philosophy, and into just about total surrender to obligations and responsibilities. The consequence of all this, naturally, is the gradual and total degradation of the personality. We must become accustomed with the thought that today's petit bourgeois is not the old simple petit bourgeois. The contemporary petit bourgeois may have titles and, occasionally, some responsible positions. He carefully and occasionally, successfully conceals his true face. Nevertheless, he is easily recognizable by his internal apathy toward social life and social problems, however rhetorically, on the surface, he may claim to be socially active and a useful member of our society. True, occasionally he may be useful. However, he can never be a true real member of this society, for the true objective of our revolution is not simply a change in production relations but a change in man himself, removing from his soul greed, gluttony, and parasitism, turning him into a citizen and a creator. Yet probably the most disgusting feature of the contemporary petit bourgeois is his irresponsibility or, more precisely, his aspiration to avoid any serious responsibility. He could be convinced one hundred times over that a cause is just. However, even though it depends on him, he will never defend it should he see in it any kind of risk to himself or his position and prosperity in life.

Let us say a few things about objects. Naturally, no one is against objects since we are working so hard to produce as many of them and with a better quality. However, the mania of objects has always been proof of spiritual poverty and alienation and total destruction of the personality. Here again it is no longer merely a question of internal alienation -- of man toward man or within his family or immediate labor environment. In terms of our mores this is unnatural. What is more terrible is social alienation

-- alienation toward social life, toward all manifestations of collective existence. Occasionally it develops into a cruel and, we could say, criminal indifference toward the fate of a person in need, a person experienced in a difficult trial, a person in trouble. We keep reading in the newspapers or hearing on the radio and television most severe and bitter condemnations in this respect, triggered by specific cases. Whether someone is drowning or has been crushed by a motor vehicle or has committed such a crime himself, quite frequently we come across a total indifference of those who pass by the place of the accident. Cases of alienation in our country cannot but stem from the petit bourgeois morality of a person feeling no responsibility, a person glued to his own personal welfare. As writers we must know that never the individual or even the public good could be the supreme objective of a truly revolutionary society. The true objectives of socialist society are entered in the moral code of the communists. I believe that it would be unnecessary to repeat it to the writers. This is the profound conflict between us, the common people, and the alien in our lives which moves us, externally and internally. It is here that we must find support in the morality which creates the working class, the working person. The scale in the recreation of our reality also lies in depicting the changes of migrations, and the moral interpretation of our contemporaries with the positive and negative aspects of his life, his inner world, and his new aggressive, national and socialist features.

Comrades:

I dealt more extensively with some problems, for they are linked with that which we know as problems in literature. These are class and moral problems, problems of today and tomorrow. No art can approach such problems so profoundly as literature.

I stem from the circumstance that our literature continues to suffer from its old disease -- its poor formulation of problems -- and that the formulation given by Comrade Zhivkov of the creation of a literature which would depict our life "on a broad scale" and in historical depth deals precisely with this matter. Literature as the study of man seeks its time in the structures of social relations and morality, i.e., in relations which arise among people and between them and society. Taking literature out of the problems leads to merely noting and describing and, most frequently, to a topic which is peripheral in terms of the basic content of reality and is neutral with development.

World literature, in its best manifestations, regardless of the ideological and aesthetic directions in schools, has always been emphatically a literature of problems. Soviet literature, particularly the works of the so-called "Siberian novelists" (Razputin and others) is strongly saturated with the problems of the times and problems of local and national nature. Also rich in problems is the social polyvalent literature of the Latin American countries involved in the flow of struggles and of social awakening. We join the universal and this big and complex process with the

achievements of our literature, its artistic discoveries, its current and future possibilities, and its multidirectional problems. It is a question of the problems of the epoch and of national and local nature. The problems of the epoch of the class struggle, the moral advantages of the man under socialism compared with the man under capitalism, The problem of the epoch is that which is new and changing, that which influences the molding of human spirituality. We could add to these some more specific problems such as the already mentioned alienation from nature or of the demographic changes in the society.

A universal problem, for example, is that of urbanization, of the excessive and frequently monstrous growth of the cities. In Bulgaria one out of eight or nine people live in Sofia. Is this natural? At the same time, a great migration is taking place in the course of which the peasant becomes a worker and the worker becomes a socialist working person. The following question arises: what is becoming for our national mentality, pouring out from bags, freightcars, and trains into the gigantic mills of the contemporary cities? Or else: there are common ideas carried by man regardless of his national aspect. These, to us, are the modern international ideas, the ideas of freedom and social justice, humanism, the triumph of human relations and communist solidarity.

These different problems of the epoch are taken "for processing" by our socialist literature as well. Other problems arise, those of the knowledge of ourselves. It is a question of a modern knowledge of ourselves, looking at the past and the remaining moral-primitive and mythological ideas of the world. Naturally, the main and basic thing is to penetrate into present-day man, and the assertion of the moral worth of labor and creativity. What is important is the struggle for the basic objective of our time: the building of a highly developed communist society, surmounting all possible counteractions; what is important is to resolve the problem of war and peace and the surmounting of hostile ideologies; what is important is to create an integral and comprehensively developed communist personality. This makes necessary the struggle against negative phenomena and for the promotion of moral virtues.

Should literature avoid a more active depiction and study of the typical phenomena in human and social life, who could replace it in the efforts to develop the human personality: electronics, gene engineering, or relativistic physics?

Failure to reflect and study negative phenomena as well would mean refusal to defend moral standards and ideals. It would mean a refusal to fight the weeds in our field.

The study of human destinies and relations has never taken place for the sake of the study itself but with a view to obtaining a social ideal. Each epoch should study contemporary relations in society with a view to reaching the ideal of socialist mutual relations. It must critically evaluate areas in which the reality coincides with the ideal and where it does not.

This is its main and primary task.

It could be said that in some cases the social awareness of modern man has become socialist, and that the modern man has adopted a socialist attitude toward labor, public property, economic and state management, and so on. However, in no case should we claim that the private-intimate sector in the mind of the contemporary man has become socialist or entirely socialist. This sector is greatly lagging behind the social sector. Had it not been lagging we would not have spoken of phenomena such as indifference, egotism, Philistinism, careerism, and so on. In the course of his ideological and spiritual flight a man may land on a star but, returning down to earth, he may start cursing vulgarly his wife; a manager may find optimal solutions for the success of a plant while, at the same time, force his secretary to have an affair with him, and so on. Even more important, however, is the contradiction when what is public is considered as being one's own, or when it is treated irresponsibly, making use of the system at that.

The image of the communist -- our contemporary -- could not be considered separately from the question of the image of our contemporary in general. He may have one or another feature which may be stronger and more vivid. Nevertheless, in many cases he is made of the same stuff as our other contemporaries, noncommunists. We should seek the unity of the mind, the common aspect in responsibilities. Actually, this was mentioned also at the latest July 1976 Party Plenum. Literature should seek in our strong contemporaries, including communists, that which carries the embryo of the present and the trends toward the future, bearing the features of the transition to the future.

Comrades:

Everything so far discussed -- the further development of the contemporary topic, the deeper penetration into life, and efforts to mold and develop the human mind, and broad historical depiction -- presumes high artistic mastery.

This important problem was raised particularly sharply in the reports submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the 11th BCP Congress. It was no accident that the attention of the writers was directed particularly to the question of artistic mastery. It was dictated by the natural need for literature to assume a high place among the spiritual values and factors of our times, demanded by the overall and exceptionally increased standard of spiritual and material life in our socialist country. With a view to the realms of material life in the country the party raised as a categorical imperative the requirement of production quality and effectiveness. Of late the aesthetic meaning of this party order has been aptly included in some literary critical statements. Indeed, the demand for high artistic effectiveness and quality of works and of the art, and specifically, of works of literature, is entirely legitimate. In its achievements and impact, literature must not only not lag behind achievements in other realms of our socialist building but lead them. Such has always been the mission of a great literature.

The demand for high skill has never been a temporary slogan. Whatever the conditions and circumstances, literature has always had to be on a high artistic level. Nevertheless, there have been periods in the overall development of a nation in which pseudoart, stillborn works, are entirely intolerable. Such is our contemporary stage, the stage of building a developed socialist society. Against the background of an overall high spiritual growth of our people that which was aptly named the "gray stream" is becoming intolerable.

It is hardly necessary to clarify the fact that artistic skill is a legitimate requirement, particularly in the case of talented individuals. It parallels the serious study of life. This was also stated in the report to our party's 11th Congress. The appeal for artistic skill becomes meaningless if the one who tries to be a "master" has no lasting and profound impressions of life, if he has no serious vital and human experience. Mastery, in such a case, distorts into a self-seeking technology, in a pretentious and formalistic concern for the form, in deliberate refinement which does not aim at molding a significant content. Formal mastery is a wasteful, unfunctional and meaningless mastery.

It is necessary to bear this fact in mind, for the view that artistic mastery is merely the technology of creative work, a strictly professional skill of working only on the form is widespread.

Our aesthetics and theory of literature do not deny this special, this strictly professional aspect of the problem of mastery as the mastery of form, of detail. Particularly great concern should be devoted to language, to word mastery. This is the main obligation of the creative worker. It is important, however, to bear in mind that this concern does not cover a complex problem which has a far broader range. This range covers the entire creative process: one should start precisely from the ability of seeing life deeply in going through all the stages of the creative work, to the final line which will complete a given piece of work.

Unquestionably, the great mastery of seeing life in its complexity, conflict, and living entity is the privilege of the talented creative worker. It is within the reach only of the born writer, as we say. Centuries of literary work, however, have proved that a rich artistic attitude toward reality is also the result of the conscious development of the internal and external forces of the writer.

Maksim Gor'kiy once said that "an artist may learn only from the skill of another artist." In this case a strong emphasis is placed on the direct and most effective means for mastering the skill. However, hardly questionable is the very important fact that only the educated writer could learn a high skill. It is of tremendous importance, for example, for the writer to know in advance that he must see and depict man not empirically, not as an isolated unit, but as a socio-psychological phenomenon, i.e., as a unique character and, at the same time, as a summed up socio-psychological

complexity. If we speak of some weaknesses of our literature today, they may be found in the lack of summed-up characters. Conversely, successes become apparent mainly wherever human characters typical of our time stand out. Let me add to this that no single significant work of literature would have appeared without approaching man as a living and unique individuality rather than merely as a social category.

Whatever the characteristics we may point out concerning the significance of literary types, allow me to emphasize one -- the innovation search and spirit which we must find in our contemporary literature. As early as 1889, working on his work "What Is and What Is Not Art, and When Is Art Something Important and When Is It a Waste," Leo Tolstoy wrote: "According to this formulation only a work which reveals something new, so far unknown to the people, may be considered a work of art." If this statement by the brilliant writer applies to almost all serious creative workers, it should apply even more so to those assigned by history to describe new human relations, radical social changes, a historical turn from the world of exploitation and rightlessness to the world of liberated labor, and the appearance of a type of person whose objective is to change the life of the people and change their awareness, i.e., the writers of the socialist camp. The new neither is nor could be a problem of "pure technology" of merely writing. Innovation is not merely a characteristic of a good mastery of the form. Innovation is the ability to discover new problems which should be considerable and new conflicts which should be important, as well as new characters who must be essential along with new trends and prospects for society, also highly significant! Only then does the aspect of the aesthetic recreation come. It should not be underestimated, since without it innovation loses its striking power and impact. That is why let us, once again, go back to Tolstoy who, again in 1889, in another article wrote as follows: "A perfect work of art can be only that in which the content will be significant and new and the expression absolutely splendid and the attitude of the artist toward the object will be entirely sincere and, therefore, entirely truthful."

The struggle for great artistic mastery is a struggle also for sensible sincerity, and originality. True originality -- I repeat -- is a quality both of form and content. Our literature is developing toward complexity and simplicity, toward psychological depth and clarity. It has done a great deal to vary its possibilities for expression. Along with the traditional realistic depiction it mastered the inner monologue and the many possibilities of psychological analysis. It became more intellectual and more profound in perceiving the national essence. However, it is opposed by false originality inherent in superficial authors, and in those who strive to external effects, unjustified and unsubstantiated by substantive characteristics. Another problem is the fact that we apply to the problem of artistic skill the awareness of the significance and value of talent as we mentioned. There is no great master wherever there is no great personality capable of understanding the importance of its possibilities and his culture, striving to raise his creative forces to their factual limit. There is no great skill wherever the individual has

not become aware of the social and humanistic function of art, inseparable from aesthetic and innovational significance. The enhancement of individual awareness of the creative worker leads him to the adoption of a different attitude toward the man-character, the literary personage. He does not see him merely externally but internally as well, with the type of penetration to which he is capable when he assesses his own self. This leads to a far deeper depiction of the worker, and the peasant in a short story or a novel, or of man in general on the theater stage. These new features and characteristics of artistic mastery and these phenomena -- unknown or unsuspected -- must become the focal point of a concentrated observation and attention. A maturity of penetration, of standards of writing, and forms corresponds to an ever greater extent to the maturity of our society.

Allow me to add something else as well: the effort to reach an artistic skill in the significant writer is also a struggle against phenomena which hindered the development of contemporary literature, representing essentially an attempt to replace authentic creativity with pseudocreative manifestations of various types. It is a question of gray and impersonal which accounts for a substantial part of the literary press and book publishing, and of a number of other areas such as the motion picture, theater, radio, and television.

Imitation, characteristic of gray output, as well as the complexity of conditions favoring it, clearly indicate that the struggle against this phenomenon may not be reduced to general formulations or mere wishes. That is precisely why our union's administrative council considered profoundly, in a special session, the problem of the gray flow and adopted an expanded and specific plan for blocking the channels of the standard output. As the plan itself shows, the union's management does not have the illusion that the elimination of such a phenomenon could be the result of a short campaign. We need purposeful and systematic actions which would restrict to a minimum the ground on which literary weeds grow.

Whereas the existence of a gray flow is totally contrary to the party requirements for high artistic mastery, other phenomena show that the class-party criterion is either underestimated or neglected. Naturally, it is a question of peripheral phenomena which neither characterize the overall literary process nor are able to deviate it from its basic direction, yet which we could not ignore precisely because they conflict with the basic principles of our creative method.

A number of subjectivistic assessments concerning the nature and development of our literary life in the past or nihilistic standpoints concerning our domestic output in one or another genre, going so far as to reject in advance the possibility for the manifestation of our national genius in such genres appeared in our literary press or in individual studies. Attempts were also published to oppose the leading civic trend in our poetry with a different one, allegedly more modern and more vital trend, of philosophical, "deep," personal, and other poetry.

Such standpoints, even though entirely sporadic, show that some basic party and literary principles have still not been fully understood by some writers. Let such writers not be irritated by the fact that we are reminding them of basic things, for they themselves force us through their erroneous assessments to go back to the repertory of familiar truths.

It is hardly necessary to prove that it is precisely our party's April line that enabled our literary science to get rid of certain dogmatic prejudices in the study of the past; to encompass the processes of literary history in their entire complexity and contradictoriness, and to reach a new and considerably more accurate study of authors and works lightheartedly doomed to oblivion by narrowminded researchers. Yet it would be hardly necessary also to prove that such objectiveness and broad outlook not only do not conflict with the party approach in the assessment of facts but, conversely, would be inconceivable without the systematic observance of the class-party criterion. Otherwise, the broad outlook would be degraded to the level of subjectivistic arbitrariness while the assessment would turn into a harmful shifting of values.

It is also known that, again under the conditions of a favorable April climate, our criticism was freed from the habits of petty supervision and stopped prescribing to the writers mandatory recipes not consistent with their creative natures. We do not impose civic poetry at the expense of intimate poetry, nor challenges instead of a lower tone or else a specific depiction instead of poetic judgment. However, we believe that the freedom of stylistic preferences and of the manifestation of one or another creative nature should be based on a common principled foundation, the foundation of our common method, the foundation of socialist realism whose new and contemporary aesthetic features we are trying to develop in our ideological and aesthetic platform.

Comrades:

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev as well as Comrade Todor Zhivkov have frequently stressed that under contemporary conditions imperialism has been deprived of the possibility to hope for a victory in an armed conflict and will be using to an ever greater extent the ideological realm as grounds for confrontation with the forces of progress.

The circumstances which followed the European Security and Cooperation Conference proved yet once again, and even more eloquently, the correctness of this assessment. Even though some naive people professed the hope that the policy of detente would inevitably bring about certain peaceful idyl in ideology, the facts for the past year have been quite numerous and eloquent to put an end to such illusions. The bourgeois propaganda strategists not only did not abandon their attempts to "erode" socialism through all types of ideological smuggling but converted to entirely brutal operations within the familiar register of psychological warfare and the type of manifestations of unbridled anti-Sovietism recalled only from the years of the cold war.

Naturally, the concluding document signed in Helsinki contains specific stipulations covering relations in the realms of culture and ideology. As far as we are concerned -- the members of the socialist comity -- we are firmly resolved to observe these clauses. We should even point out, as was indicated at the Soviet Writers' Congress, that we are doing a considerably greater deal to popularize western literature and art than the bourgeois states are doing to popularize our works.

We have never signed nor could sign an agreement on ideological disarmament and peaceful coexistence between fundamentally conflicting concepts and uncritical acceptance of any reactionary stupidity which our class enemy may deign to present us with. The struggle in the world of ideas has existed ever since ideas have existed and nothing could stop the course of this struggle, the way nothing could stop human evolution, for the development of the ideological struggle, in the final account, is nothing but a reflection of the human evolution in its difficult yet invariably aggressive movement.

Naturally, this does not mean in the least that we are against contacts and talks with people who do not share our views entirely. Nor do we consider such talks as a dialogue between deaf mutes as conceived by some western theoreticians. We simply believe that it would be absurd to abandon the imperatives of the truth for the sake of a misunderstood politeness. Should the enemy, in turn, be convinced of the rightness of his ideas, he would have no reason to be irritated or to fear that we would oppose our own views.

The literatures from Western Europe, the United States, and the third world include a number of modern works which, without absolutely corresponding to our views on the world and man, enjoy our respect, for they are the works of honest writers who are trying to reflect truthfully reality, inspired by their love for man, concerned and alarmed for his future.

It will be hardly necessary to add that in this case our respect is not purely platonic at all: we translate and publish many such works. They are carried by the press and on television. They are noted by our critics. However, even if written by highly talented writers, such works could not represent to us a model of creativity for the reason alone that the positions of the authors and their characters are to us positions and characters of the past.

Even more alien to us is an entire category of other works imbued with faithlessness in the forces of man and in the trends of historical development, poisoned by fear and pessimism. We know that the dying class conceives of its doom as the universal doom, as the end of the world. Is it astounding, therefore, that in the literature, theater, and motion pictures of present-day bourgeois society the number of works of despair, predicting catastrophe on a planetary scale, is becoming ever greater? What is there in common between us and these prophets of despair and doom, when our objective is not to predict catastrophe but to do everything within our forces to protect mankind from it?

However, such phenomena are still within the realm of the so-called "free" creativity: spontaneous reaction to fears and nagging ideas, despair in the face of the complexity of life conflicts, and helplessness in perceiving or accepting the logical development. Yet, what could we say of that other "creativity" which is carefully planned, regulated, and financed in order to use it as an instrument for manipulating the minds of the broad public, the western public, above all, true, but also, in the presence of open doors, of our public as well. This entire output, the overwhelming majority of which consists of surrogates of mass culture, represents essentially a reservoir of most regressive ideas, beginning with sermons on the isolation of man in the narrow world of egotistical aspirations and sexual interest, and ending with the cult of violence and the anticommunist rage.

Naturally, we have no intention of providing free access of such output in our country. However, this is not enough. We must actively fight it, we must relieve it of tempting publicity wrappings, and disclose its true ideological meaning. Above all, we must counter it with artistically significant and ideologically rich works capable of exciting and promoting our communist truth far beyond the borders of our country.

All these problems of total change in focusing on modern topics and coming closer to the life of the people and the working class, of greater skill and struggle against substandard goods and theories and concepts hostile to us take us to the tasks of literary criticism.

The extensive development of the literary process following the April Plenum and the new and complex problems which our socialist development presents to literature determine the growing role of criticism. In our literature change is a constant phenomenon. Entire genres are born and develop: in addition to the profoundly realistic and authentic fiction, we have science fiction, adventure, memoirs, travelogues, humor, and publicistic works triggered by life and the needs of our times. The social changes, scientific and technical revolution, and tremendous social successes have sharpened the mind. There has been a rapprochement between and a crossing of scientific with artistic thinking. Literature is becoming enriched through thinking encouraged by scientific discoveries. Many scientists are already claiming that art and, particularly, literature are prompting scientific ideas. Conversely, many writers have concentrated on the artistic mastering of scientific discoveries and their results.

The aggravation of the ideological struggle in some realms of social life called for the sharpening of theoretical and critical thinking. A trend developed of using in the study of literature the methods of linguistics and other sciences. Consequently, the literary critic must not only be a socially involved individual but a well-trained specialist with a gift for discovery and a person with a broad outlook. Today the old and the new meet in a very original fashion in the course of their increased contacts and the exchange of spiritual values among nations and the organization of broad international exchanges. On the other hand, the maturity of our

society raises ever more sharply the question of its traditions and continuity with the immediate revolutionary past. Because of this continuity the role and place of the historical document, of the authentic material, have increased. This branch of literature already has its own peaks: books of tremendous educational impact, for they provide us with the living and unadulterated history of the revolutionary past, recreating for the young generation the captivating characters of the proletarian fighters. The documentary basis and meaning of the realistic and philosophically profound knowledge of the world as truth, as reality, have intensified. All this is needed by modern man, demanding an analysis and an attitude on the part of the critic.

We are holding to an ever greater extent a literature for the young people, for his spiritual search and critical attitude toward the negative aspects of our life and his thirst for greater ideals.

All this is important. It proves the increased complexity, differentiation, and richness of the literary process today, and the variety of its phenomena. This development is not without a center, without a general line. The leading factor is that of literature with a profound socio-psychological content, reflecting the most important processes in our continuing development, and the new conflicts and problems encountered by the modern socialist man. Here again literary criticism must skillfully display its views on factual phenomena. We give priority to works in present-day artistic literature which represents most fully and accurately the atmosphere, the moral content of the socialist way of life, depicting the inner moral and spiritual growth of the contemporary worker and the working people in the villages, the new attitude toward labor and the nobling impact of socialist human norms and relations. The new problem -- that of environmental protection -- not as a standard ecological problem but a problem with an aesthetic and patriotic content and as a new attitude toward the beauty of our native land and as the growing interest in human material and spiritual life is penetrating ever more extensively within this general topic.

The critics must take into consideration this entire width and variety of the literary process. They must not forget that this is aesthetics in motion -- continuously developing and enriching, with a feeling for the new, improving its approach and methodological weapons. As Pushkin said, only the type of criticism which is "on the level of the century," which follows dynamic social changes most lively and their reflection in literature, and which is aware of social changes and the scientific-technical revolution as well as individual moral and psychological processes is a criticism which could become an intellectually leading genre, leading along the better ways the development of literature, asserting promptly real and promising achievements. Requirements facing literary criticism today are far higher. They demand ever greater competence and specialization. Literary criticism today must be on the level of contemporary philosophy and sociology. It must penetrate ever more deeply into the nature and specifics of national traditions and character; it must compare the artistic experience of Bulgarian literature with the experience and the searches

of other socialist literatures, of literature throughout the world. We have witnessed, for example, the emergence in recent years of the Latin American novel. A strong tendency was clearly manifested of combining a modern view and modern philosophy with folklore traditions. This led to the development of a new approach in the enrichment of contemporary literature. However, we note the extensive development of similar phenomena in Soviet literature and in our own, and comparative studies on a broad scale would be useful. It would be also useful to see some characteristic trends of degradation and decline in the west whose interpretation would protect the naive. It would be useful to penetrate even more deeply into our spiritual life, in the depth of our national character, in our moral foundations, and in their forms of manifestation. It would be useful to combine the sociological with the psycho-biographic method and the structural-aesthetic with the folkloring method. In general, in order to be an intellectually leading genre in our literature, literary criticism must stand on solid class-party positions. At the same time, it must have rich knowledge of social and literary development and of the historical path and destinies of Bulgarian literature in the past and the present, when the features of our socialist classics are developing ever further. The meaning of the decisions and wishes of the 11th BCP Congress concerning our entire art and literature, including literary criticism, was the following: to convert to ever more profound philosophical and artistic summations and an ever greater penetration into essential processes and into the inner content of the socialist way of life and in the psychological changes taking place in the builders of the developed socialist society. Literary criticism must encourage precisely the types of works which are doing this, which are abandoning external features or a superficial journalistic attitude toward the topic and are penetrating the very depths of life with the natural innovational fearlessness of realism.

Our union does not expect merely the direct spiritual aid of literary criticism in terms of literary processes. It is helping it to function under creative conditions, provide an objective assessment, and mold literary and public opinion and taste under favorable circumstances. The assessment of contemporaneity and of today's artistic phenomena and processes is neither an academic nor an amateurish occupation. It is not exhausted by the conventional noting of the topic or the characters. It is frequently linked with touchy problems and controversial theses and artistic solutions. The defense of what is healthy and positive calls for courage, competence, proper prestige, and substantive thinking, words, and convictions.

Generally speaking, in some cases our literary criticism carries out its assessment obligations and mission properly. We feel in our literary criticism the rich presence of authoritative creative workers who, through their rich erudition, fruitful scientific searches, and long practical experience have developed some of the most important features and characteristics of our contemporary literature — its uninterrupted and growing striving toward self-awareness, interpretation of a path 1,000 years old, and its place in world literature, and of what is being created today. In this sense it would be difficult to underestimate the importance of the multiple-volume works on aesthetics and the theoretical summations of

Todor Pavlov. Still actively working is Mikhail Arnaudov who is celebrating today his 99th anniversary and is entering his 100th year. The historical studies by Georgi Tsanev and Petur Dinekoy are fruitful and significant. That which Pencho Danchev is doing for Bulgarian poetry and Petur Petonev is doing for Bulgarian prose are of important significance. The national-characteristic studies and essays of Efrem Karanfilov, who is developing a young tradition in our country and is bringing us closer to developed literatures, are a rather characteristic phenomenon of our epoch.

The middle generation of critics, working confidently and effectively, is in full bloom. Along with successful "sallies" in classics by Simeon Sultanov are the critical and historical-folk studies and profound research of Toncho Zhezhev, Boyan Nichev's summations of the contemporary novel, the poetry criticism of Zdravko Petrov, and the comparisons between Bulgarian and Soviet literature by Vasil Kolevski and Ivan Tsvetkov. The activities of some critics have become more energetic, such as those of Emil Petrov, Stoyan Karalov, Nikolay Yankov, Ivan Ruzh, Yako Molkhov, and Todor Abazov. Good work is being done by theater critics such as Lyubomir Tenev, Stefan Karakostov, Yuliyana Vuzhkov, Gocho Gochev, Sevelina G'orova, Vasil Stefanov, and Vladimir Karakashev. Particularly topical is the participation in literary life of Krust'o Kuyumdzhiev, Chavdar Dobrev, Georgi Markov, Mikhail Vasilev, Ivan Popivanov, Atanas Svilenov, Simeon Khadzhikosev, Svetlozar Igov, Ivan Spasov, and Natasha Manolova. We expect of the active generation of critics and literary historians to whom we could add Milena Tsaneva, Elka Konstantinova, and Lyuben Georgiev, serious monographs on the more distant or more immediate past and of our times. We are also relying on the new replacements who are developing in literary criticism and who have expressed a serious and profound attitude toward aesthetic values in their very first books and studies. Allow me to mention merely Zdravko Cholakov, Zdravko Nedkov, Dimitur Tanev, Khristo Stefanov, Minko Benchev, Petur Tonkov, Konstantin Elenkov, Stefan Kolarov, and Encho Madafov, not to mention all the names of young critics who have entered literary life.

Despite this rich collection, our literary criticism nevertheless means broader theoretical skills and a deep view of the literary process.

Considering the discussions of the current annual output by genres, sponsored by the critics sections with the help of the other sections, we should note that along with some hasty or erroneous assessments of poets and prose writers, some important things were stated both on the gray flow and the careless depiction of the building of socialism, as well as of the new successes in our literature. Our critics supported the young authors and their searches. They discovered the novel "Krustoput na Oblatsi" [The Crossroads of Clouds] by Georgi Aleksiev, and provided a timely assessment of young novelists such as Lyuben Petkov, Rashko Sugarev, Stanislav Stratiev, Vladimir Zarev, Dimitur Yarumov, Rosen Bosev, Dimitur Korudzhiev, and others. In the past 2 years critics wrote extensive and profound articles on the new novels and stories by Pavel Vezhinov, Bogomil Raynov,

Andrey Gulyashki, Kamen Kalchev, Georgi Dzhagarov, Dragomir Asenov, Lyubomir Levchev, Yordan Radichkov, Ivaylo Petrov, Diko Fuchedzhiev, and other authors. Discussions on contemporary poetry and novels, and the works of the youngest poets and novelists are being regularly sponsored in LITERATUREN FRONT, SEPTEMVRI, PLAMUK, and SUVREMENNIK. It should be pointed out that such discussions are doing proper selecting work, helping to emphasize the creative aspects of the best and most promising authors. Let us note that they are backed not by self-seeking searches or involvement with fashion or with versifying but by truly living civic emotions rooted in our literary tradition and socialist life.

At the same time, a trend is developing in our literary criticism in establishing an attitude toward overall artistic processes and summing up history of entire genres and style trends. Such research efforts parallel the broad view cast on the entire new Bulgarian literature. This contributes to the elaboration of realistic criteria and requirements concerning contemporary socialist literature. The older generation of critics is drawing up balances and completing major historical-literary works of importance to our entire culture and national self-awareness and spirit. We must not forget that literary criticism, allied with literary history, is engaged not in auxiliary or popularization activities but carries out the national historical mission of arming the contemporary creative intelligentsia and our entire nation with artistic knowledge and national-literary self-knowledge which is an important component of the overall new spiritual aspect of the contemporary Bulgarian person who is aware of his spiritual values, who lives with them, and who is proud of them. Of late, the anniversaries of our classical writers face us ever more with the need for new visions and comparisons, and for a new intensification and summation of the national literary process.

Our socialist contemporaneity, the new life of our people, help us to assess the classical heritage in a new way and with a new look and to understand more profoundly the significance of the old Bulgarian literature in terms of the remaining world or the place and significance of the studies of our people, ranging from Zakhari Stoyanov's "Zapiski za Bulgarskite Vustaniya" [Notes on Bulgarian Uprisings] to Nayden Gerov's dictionary.

At the same time, together with our efforts to develop professionalism and a national-philosophical depth and mastery literary criticism, we must broaden our links with Soviet literary criticism and draw from the rich ideological and aesthetic experience of the Soviet study of literature.

Our literary criticism has its strictly formulated program for action -- the speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to Sofia's Komsomol members in 1969, and the subsequent statements made by Comrade Zhivkov on humor and satire, on the place of the critical principle in socialist realism, and on the character of the contemporary worker. The ideas of the April line in our social life, filled with innovational developments and wise analyses and plans, and with iron principle-mindedness and communist scope of vision are its program and firm guide. These assessments and directions indicate

to it that it must strengthen even further the creative application of the class-party criterion which has nothing in common with going back, with the Procrustian bed of cult of personality thinking or obsolete concepts of literature, or the primitive separation of topic from idea and from artistic representation.

Literary criticism must promptly note enthusiasms and deviations toward a peripheral and anachronistic topic, the aesthetizing of a poor spiritual world, self-seeking artistic searches, a trend toward the cheap and artificial type of literature, already surmounted by an alien to socialist realism, in which the position of the author is not entirely separated from lives and characters described.

It must react particularly sharply to some attempts at erroneously overestimating the literary heritage and literary life in the past based on alien positions and to rehabilitate phenomena which played a reactionary and negative role and hindered the development of revolutionary and progressive literature.

At this point the great question of any changing development arises: what are our origins? Who are our most direct predecessors? Where is the demarcation line between that which we are following and developing and that which we reject or submit to critical reassessment, or the question of our continuity with revolutionary and democratic popular literature of the past and the question of the criterion of what is significant in literary life, what has enriched it and what has disappeared forever together with its class and institutions, inevitably buried by the 9 September victory.

We do not forget the negative aspects in the activities of literary criticism linked with individual features of our literary life. The number of superficial reviews and amateurish exercises in criticism is still large. The most intolerant part is the adaptation to one or another situation or one or another name for the sake of pleasing someone, ignoring objective aesthetic values. We frequently note such phenomena: the number of reviews and admirers grows along with the position of the writer, and an ordinary booklet may become the focus of attention of obliging critics.

These problems of principle-mindedness in criticism and of the morality of the critic and his authority must be considered in close relation with overall literary life and linked with the struggle against the small circles motivated by selfish reasons. Once Konstantin Paustovski quoted Saadi advising young creative workers: "Be straight like a birch and slim like a cypress tree." There is yet another saying which states: "Man is like a tree -- if he is not straight he is not reliable."

We must adopt a very serious attitude on the question of educating the critic and displaying intolerance toward any lack of principles or selfish motivations which harm literature as well.

We have a large number of literary critics belonging to all generations. Some of them have prestige, knowledge, and talent which, as I pointed out, in listing names, are manifested richly in the books, articles, and studies they have written. The overall process of upsurge and intensification applies to literary criticism as well. However, we need a closer unification of literary criticism cadres around the correct policy of our party and the tasks set by our union leadership, as well as the maximal utilization of the abilities and talents of every critic without exception joining in our common work. Responsibility must be promoted through a just attitude toward the activities of the critic and through the tasks assigned to him. Such tasks are particularly category in terms of emphasizing and supporting the type of creative searches which bring us most closely to the creation of the image of our contemporary, of the worker, which penetrate most boldly in the dialectics of the heroic and the critical, the grotesque and the tragic, and which bring to light, without unnecessary exaltation, the high pathos of our life and the historical optimism of our time and our literature. We must encourage literary criticism of the original nature of the various genres such as essays, publicistic thoughts, and historical documentation. The critics must follow the traces of what is truly significant and show to us the new possibilities offered to the spiritual world of the contemporary Bulgarian people.

Comrades:

Allow me to discuss certain organizational problems as well. In recent years the organizational activities of the union have increased exceptionally greatly. There is no area in the country's cultural life in which the active presence of the Bulgarian Writers' Union is not felt. Furthermore, as a leading creative organization, in many cases our union is providing the tone and example with its initiative-mindedness and consistency in resolving the major problems of our socialist culture. Let us note at this point that this entire tremendous organization and social activities of the union are subordinated to the main task -- the solution of creative problems and the directing of writers toward contemporaneity and the creation of big works of art on the great phenomena of our socialist life.

Therefore, our organizational efforts are subordinated to the general task. It is part of the creative and efficient atmosphere in the union, leading to the unification of the forces and talents of all generations, from the oldest to the youngest. Taking into consideration the individual development of every creative worker separately, we believe that participation in social and organizational life is useful to everyone. It inspires a feeling of responsibility toward literature and history. This has been the spirit of our meetings, discussions, conferences, and participation in national cultural life -- in the work of motion pictures and the theater, television, the press, and the council of chairmen of creative unions. Along with creative tolerance in this complex and comprehensive activities we have encouraged a feeling of criticism and intolerance toward weaknesses and errors which are inevitable in the course of the work. Criticism is

a fixed part of any healthy organizational and creative atmosphere, a criticism which is constructive and useful to the common cause.

Guided by the principle that everyone must participate in the common project our union developed an entire system for the factual and practical implementation of the slogan of "More Among the People and Closer to Life." A commission on the contemporary topic was set up. It formulated a detailed plan for the implementation and promotion of this exceptionally difficult and big creative assignment. In the course of over 3 years a large number of writers in all types and genres became involved; poetry, novels, plays, literary criticism, children's literature and others. We have emphasized throughout the tremendous significance of the moral and material principles used to encourage contemporary topics.

As we know, in accordance with the bureau's decision and the agreement of the BCP Central Committee, we appealed to the managements of all okrugs with the request to facilitate the establishment of connections between writers and construction projects, plants and agroindustrial complexes, and for their assumption of certain financial obligations in connection with the staying of the writers in the okrugs. This letter was welcomed with a great deal of interest by the local party and state leaderships. As I pointed out, contracts were signed with the okrugs. We signed decisions on interaction and joint work with the Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education, the Main Political Administration of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Transportation, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the Committee for Television and Radio. As a result of these contracts and talks with the union members, a large number of writers assumed creative obligations toward the okrugs and the Bulgareski Pisatel Publishing House, under contract with funds provided by the Committee for Art and Culture. In order to eliminate any disparities in contracting, the union's leadership decided that writers who had assumed obligations toward the publishing house would also be assigned to some of the okrugs. Naturally, the obligations of the SBP and those of the okrugs are not covered by this single item. This interaction covers a number of cultural-mass actions, literary readings, okrug literary celebrations, theory conferences, and others. Therefore, nearly all active writers who are directing their efforts on contemporary topics are provided with factual financial and moral assistance.

However, the 11th Party Congress and the assessments it provided of today's literary process obligate us to consider the question of bringing the writer closer to his time and to the great changes in society from a new position consistent with the present stage. Our activities in this direction so far, such as establishing durable links with okrugs and individual social organizations, institutions and departments, have unquestionably yielded and will continue to yield positive results. We must continue in the future to make maximal use of the valuable experience gained and to expand and improve the useful aspects of these relations. At the same time, however, we must seek new forms better suited to the various manifestations of our socio-economic and spiritual life which would bring about an even more successful

solution of the main problems in the development of our literature in the next few years.

Obviously, we must increase the variety of links with life. We must introduce in them a more realistic content and, through them, solve ever bigger and more complex creative problems. The emphasis now is on the ever more profound individual philosophical interpretation of the processes and ever deeper penetration into the essence of the changes. This demands an even more differentiated approach in the stimulation of the creative process and the factual encouragement of others who have already proved both their feeling of responsibility as well as their unquestionable creative possibilities. Obviously, we must eliminate anything which has proved to be formal, unviable, and sterile. In this direction, along with the relations we are maintaining with the okrugs, we intend to direct the interest of the writers toward leading collectives in the country and big socialist enterprises in which the socialist way of life is felt more tangibly and where the features of today's person are molded. The even more durable orientation of the writers toward the life and problems of their native areas is of certain significance as well. The significance of today's processes in the lives and minds of the people becomes even more impressive against the background of the old familiar reality. Including writers in communist labor brigades may prove to be very useful.

The practice of the Soviet writers who link themselves with the labor collectives of plants, institutes, and kolkhozes provides us with interesting experience. Such places have permanent writers' brigades consisting of 15 to 20 people assigned by the writers' union to spend from 1 to 6 months or, in some cases, even longer, in those enterprises. These brigades issue periodical literary collections which include the best works written on the basis of the creative friendship with the working people. Naturally, it would be difficult to measure quantitatively the thus acquired practical experience. Such an experience provides an impetus and truthfulness to many bigger works such as novels, poems, and plays.

Speaking of the national Bulgarian character in literature we must bear in mind both the lasting features developed in the course of centuries as well as the new features which are developing in front of our eyes, which are difficult to detect yet are very characteristic of our present reality. Today's Bulgarian person is an alloy of the past, the present, and, naturally, the future, for our entire society is aspiring toward a clearly earmarked future goal. To see this character in its entire complexity and dynamics, and sometimes, conflict is a task requiring a proper complex, penetrating, and profound observation by the writer. That is why the innovational nature of art now emerges on the foreground, that type of "travel into the unknown" to cite Mayakovskiy's inspired phrase. All the writers' senses are being tested. He must discover what is socially significant and promising. He must feel the embryos of the new. He must be aware of and artistically document every new feature of the character of today's Bulgarian people, features which, perhaps, contain exceptionally accurate information about the present.

These are difficult tasks requiring the full mobilization of creative forces, talent, and willpower. In a number of cases the writer must assume the role of people's psychologists, historian, and sociologist, and, naturally, must possess in everything a sharp political feeling and a clear ideological position. To an ever greater extent these qualities are becoming indivisible from the very concept of the writer. Without them, it would be impossible to create a literature consistent with today's requirements. It would be impossible to depict the entire socialist variety and national originality of the processes which are taking place with the same intensity both in social life and in the minds of today's Bulgarian people.

We must also consider and assess the present structure of the union. It may be necessary to set up several new commissions such as a commission on the dissemination of Bulgarian fiction abroad, a commission for work with motion pictures, television, and the press, and a commission for work with young writers. The commission on the contemporary topic has justified its establishment and is giving us a proper example. The activities of the sections are relatively more sluggish. They are accounting functions primarily. We must intensify the organizational activities and exactingness of our publications such as the newspaper LITERATUREN FRONT, the periodicals SEPTEMVRI, PLAMUK and SUVREMENNİK, the almanacs published in the provinces, the magazines for adolescents and children, KARTINNA GALERIYA, and SLAVEYCHE, as well as the activities of the publishing house.

I raise in front of you all these questions concerning the future activities of the union related to bringing the writers closer to life and the union's structure, so that they may be discussed at the congress and that recommendations be issued in this respect. The future management should discuss the suggestions and make certain structural changes in accordance with the tasks and objectives of the work and the functional requirements of the present.

Comrades:

Our literature is reaching a new high stage of development along with our entire national culture. We are seeking ways and means for its guidance in the spirit of the party decisions and the great objectives set by our society for itself. We are working in close unity and proper cooperation with the other creative unions. We are seeking and finding our place in the Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities, and Mass Information Media Complex. We are paying our important dues to the aesthetic and communist education of the people. The program adopted by the Committee for Art and Culture on the aesthetic education of the people has become our program as well and we shall do what is necessary for its implementation. We are attempting to see our factual place in the general cultural picture, to surmount areas in which we were lagging, and to enhance our spirits on the basis of our accomplishments.

The experience of Soviet literature, our irreplaceable aid in the difficult field of writing, is particularly valuable to us. Soviet literature to us is a permanent example of high level revolutionary humaneness and a

profound planning with the destinies of the people and the ideas of the time. It is an example of high ideological principle-mindedness and high artistic mastery. It could be said with full justification that in today's world there is no other literature with such profound roots in the present that is so responsive to the problems of today's man, so broadly directed toward the horizons of tomorrow's harmonious world, worthy of man.

The experience of the other socialist literatures is also useful to us. The lessons provided by the achievements of Soviet literature and the other fraternal literatures enrich our thinking with new and broader details, leading our literature to higher peaks from where the paths of mankind and the concerns, beauty and meaning of our epoch can be seen more clearly.

Unlike the past, the dynamism of the present calls for a greater concentration of talent and a more profound manifestation bordering a spiritual explosion. The problems of the building of socialism and of the socialist society are problems affecting not a single nation but a great part of mankind. When in his report to the 11th Party Congress Comrade Todor Zhivkov set new requirements to the Bulgarian creative workers, he had in mind the great labor and spiritual movement which exists in our homeland and which is seeking ever more convincing manifestations in work and art. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said the path of the Bulgarian writer is that of the organic link between the creative worker and the party and of artistic creativity with the struggle for the triumph of communism.

This has also been the direction of the efforts of the SBP management. This continues to be the direction of our prospects. We are convinced that the state we are entering will be even more fruitful to the Bulgarian writer and eternal Bulgarian literature.

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

LYUDMILA ZHIYKOVA ADDRESSES WRITERS' CONGRESS

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Oct 76 pp 1-2

[Speech by Lyudmila Zhiykova, chairman, Committee for Art and Culture:
"A Weapon in the Struggle for the New World"]

[Text] Allow me, on behalf of the Committee for Art and Culture and on behalf of all cultural workers in our country, to welcome you, delegates to and guests of the Third Congress of Bulgarian Writers, and creators of our artistic literature devoting their forces, talents, and inspiration to the building and broadening of Bulgarian socialist culture.

In the stage of the building of mature socialism, and in the conditions of a dynamic socioeconomic development, the role, significance and responsibility of art and culture are enhanced continually. The cultural and spiritual growth of the Bulgarian people and the ever broader expansion of their creative opportunities are among the vivid phenomena characterizing the time of our socialist construction. Concern for the proper molding, development, and realization of the new man and for the raising of highly conscientious socialist individuals is the focal point of policies and activities of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The pace of the building of developed socialism and of the necessary prerequisites for a transition to the future communist society depend to the greatest extent on the successful solution of this problem, the skill to utilize the advantages of socialism maximally, conscientiously, and purposefully, and on our ability to mobilize the energy and continually upgrade the communist conscientiousness of the working people.

The third Bulgarian writers' congress, held immediately after the 11th BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee plenum, is a major event

not only for creators of literature but for the entire cultural public and the overall spiritual and social life of the country.

The main aspect now determining the rhythm of our development and rallying the creative energy, initiative and labor daring of the working class, the agricultural workers, and the people's intelligentsia, of the entire people, is the struggle for implementation of the decisions of the 11th party congress and the interpretation and implementation of the basic strategic slogan of the congress of "Effectiveness and quality, and quality and effectiveness!" This synthesized formulation directs the attention, rallies the efforts, and reveals even more clearly the prospects for completing the building of the material and technical foundations for socialism. The decisions of the 11th congress and the July plenum, concretizing and further developing the party's program, arm the party members and the Bulgarian people with a scientific, realistic and inspired platform for our revolutionary forward movement.

The development of culture, art and literature is neither a self-seeking aim nor is it isolated or separated from overall social progress or the development of the socialist revolution. Successes and difficulties in the spiritual realm are directly linked with the complex and varied processes and changes taking place in all realms of our life. The achievements of Bulgarian literature, graphic art, music, motion pictures and theater in recent years have convincingly proved the increased creative and spiritual possibilities of Bulgarian artistic culture, determining its significance and responsibility in the sociohistorical processes, and facing our national culture with even greater requirements, tasks and objectives.

The application and assertion of the sociogovernmental principle in the management of culture in the Bulgarian People's Republic offered possibilities for a closer coordination and direction and unification of efforts in the implementation of party and state cultural policy. This principle is consistent with Bulgaria's current stage and specific conditions and its historical and cultural traditions. The newly established "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities, and Mass Information Media" complex is not a state-administrative organ but a public-state organization which raises to an even higher level the principle of the sociogovernmental basis of the management of culture, offering possibilities for the further democratization of the cultural front and for a new upsurge in the field of art and culture.

The purpose is for the entire cultural public to participate in the management of culture; the creation, dissemination and consumption of cultural values must combine constructive energy of all cultural institutes, creative unions, and public organizations. The establishment

of the National Cultural Complex, called upon to implement a unified national cultural policy, is directly linked with the processes of integration and coordination taking place in all fields of our socioeconomic development, the introduction of new and more advanced management mechanisms, and the tasks and requirements regarding the building of mature socialism.

From the positions of today we could state that the efforts and actions for application of the sociogovernmental principle has been entirely confirmed by acquired practical experience. The Council of Chairmen of Creative Unions has been operating successfully for several years. Together with the other coordinating councils set up under the Committee for Art and Culture, coordination in the implementation of the unified cultural policy is being successfully implemented. The enhancement of the role and significance of the councils -- including that of the chairmen of creative unions -- as organs to study, discuss and resolve most important and topical problems related to the development of Bulgarian national culture -- insured not only the necessary coordination with the Committee for Art and Culture but offered possibilities for greater purposefulness in the implementation of the cultural policy. Regardless of the successes achieved, this coordination method contains opportunities unused thus far. Our joint efforts should be directed toward enhancing the place and responsibility of the councils in the development of our country's culture and art.

Let me note particularly the importance and responsibility of the role of the Council of Chairmen of Creative Unions, directly linked with the activities and tasks of the creative unions and the direct creators of artistic values. The activities and obligations of the Bulgarian Writers' Union and the noble and highly patriotic tasks of Bulgarian literature which has always played a leading role in the overall artistic-creative process, are particularly emphasized in this spiritual laboratory. The place, significance and responsibility of this art are determined by the broad impact which it has in molding the human mind and in the overall development of the human personality. In the contemporary world, such a role and responsibility grows in direct proportion to the development of arts such as the theater, motion pictures, music, and amateur art. All successes and failures in the development of Bulgarian literature are reflected and have an immediate impact on the ideological and artistic level of these arts. They also influence the quality of the output and activities of Bulgarian television and radio, the Committee for the Press, and the entire realm of dissemination of artistic values.

To use modern terminology and the basic principles included in the new management mechanism, we could metaphorically say that Bulgarian

literature and its workers are the main strategic echelon in the development of Bulgarian art and culture, without which the cultural revolution in the Bulgarian People's Republic itself would be inconceivable.

I stress this characteristic, dear comrades, not because we are attending a Bulgarian writers' conference but because this is the truth. Fiction, poetry and playwriting are the literary foundations of motion pictures, theater, and music, which, despite their specific natures, are directly linked with the ideological and artistic level of Bulgarian literature. Bulgarian literature considerably determines their present and future development. That is precisely the reason literature, which has the great power of molding the mind, inspiring loftiest thoughts and feelings, and reaching the minds and hearts of millions of people, is a weapon in the struggle for a new world and for the ideological and political, cultural, and spiritual aspect of the socialist man.

I would like to join in the satisfaction expressed here in the high assessment of the achievements of Bulgarian literature and of the activities of the Bulgarian Writers' Union included in the greetings to the congress of the BCP Central Committee. This assessment inspires all of us, workers at the front of culture and the arts. It gives us new strength and resolve in implementing the great tasks which the party and its Central Committee set to the writers, so that literature may respond maximally to the requirements of the present historical stage.

Comrades, we cannot fail to be pleased with the unquestionable successes achieved by Bulgarian literature as described in the accountability report submitted to the congress by Comrade Panteley Zarev. The report offers a competent analysis of the conditions, problems and tasks on the literary front. It also reveals a number of weaknesses, shortcomings and unresolved problems. However, the determining trend in our literature is its constant progress, the gaining of new positions, and its ever closer ties with the life of the people and the building of socialism.

Comrades:

The development of the socialist society, particularly following the historical Central Committee plenum, brought to light the exceptionally great possibilities and prospects of the socialist social system. It created conditions for the tempestuous development of profound processes in the national economy, culture, arts, science, and education, for improving the living standard of the Bulgarian people.

However, the needs of the people, material as well as spiritual, are constantly growing and changing. Justifiably the party expects of us, men of culture and the arts, to respond promptly and most completely to these spiritual requirements, and to make our contribution in the modeling of the cultural and spiritual aspect of the socialist worker, and in preparing society and the people's minds for the gradual transition to communism. Art and culture have exceptional obligations in the solution of these complex historical problems. Its scale and outlines, naturally, face each of us with the following question: Do we, workers and creators in the field of Bulgarian art and culture, give the people and society the spiritual values they deserve and expect of us? Do we create the type of ideological and artistic works which enhance, disseminate, and strengthen in life our communist virtues and ideals? Are literature and art capable of meeting the exceptionally high requirements raised so that esthetic education may contribute to the growth of comprehensively and harmoniously developed personalities?

We could firmly state that in recent years, our cultural front, with strengthened forces and possibilities, is able to satisfy ever better the spiritual needs of the Bulgarian people. This is our great gain, and also an accomplishment of Bulgarian literature and Bulgarian writers. Here I have in mind essentially the quantitative side of the problem.

As to the ideological and artistic level and quality of the Bulgarian literature and art, successes have been achieved as well. Let me note above all the more active attitude of the creative workers toward reality, and the ever more extensive handling of contemporary topics. The content and forms of artistic creativity are enriched on the basis of the method of socialist realism; the professional skill of the creative workers is rising. The range of topics in artistic creativity is broadening as well. Ever more extensively, literature and the arts have begun to study the so-called "production theme," the "worker theme," which is beginning to acquire essentially new artistic solutions. A new approach is being applied in the depiction of our contemporary. The new thing is that the production topic is exceeding to an ever greater extent the framework of the way of life. It is becoming the realm of philosophy of relations among people; under production conditions, conflict is gaining historical significance. At the same time, it has a profoundly moral lining. The production aspect is being interwoven ever more closely with and turning into a moral analysis covering all aspects of the character's spirituality, revealing his attitude toward problems of the contemporary world.

Yet, as was noted at the 11th party congress, there has still not occurred a turn in the mastering of the contemporary topic in its entire historical scale and significance. A number of creative workers who could create highly artistic works on our time unfortunately avoid this topic.

Such a position is occasionally justified by claims that, allegedly, the conditions of our social development either eliminate or restrict the possibility to criticize, narrowing creative opportunities. In recent years, however, our literary practice has been able to prove the groundlessness of such assertion. Bulgarian works of literature have appeared deeply penetrating and revealing most characteristic phenomena, conflicts, and contradictions in the socioeconomic development of the country. Could we conceive of any progress without a struggle against everything negative and ugly in life, or without disclosing the reasons for their appearance or criticizing negative phenomena?

Are not the transitional epoch in which man lives and develops, the constant aggravation and intensification of class and ideological conflict, and the birth of new phenomena and trends revealing the prospects of our future development worthy of profound creative study and recreation? The development of socialist Bulgaria is taking place in a unique historical stage closely linked with international developments and with the dynamic processes taking place within the country. The discovery of new factors which appear and strengthen and of processes in their dynamics and development is a complex and responsible task. A great deal of efforts, knowledge and talent are necessary for these processes to be artistically and skillfully reflected, and for bringing to light and tracing the cause and effect relations created by this development, whose dialectical necessity and determination characterize the processes occurring in all realms and fields of life.

Would it be possible to develop our society and mold the new conscientiousness without the active role and intervention of criticism and self-criticism, and without surmounting the contradictions in the course of our progress?

The decisions of the July Central Committee plenum, its spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and its frankness in the study of central phenomena and processes developing in our country shed new light on a number of aspects of our social development, opening new possibilities for creative inspiration and artistic recreation of our times.

The plenum brought to light and studied a number of important contradictions of the present stage caused by objective and, particularly, subjective reasons involving our weaknesses, errors and shortcomings. It earmarked effective measures for surmounting such contradictions.

I have in mind, above all, the profound contradiction between the established and highly developed material and technical base in our economy and the lag of the subjective factor, particularly of some leaders, central and local, which prevent us from making full use

of this base and of the advantages and reserves of the socialist system. I also have in mind the contradiction between achievements and possibilities created by the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions and their insufficient utilization in our economy and in other realms of our social development.

I bear in mind the developed contradiction between the socialist personality, which is the predominant type of personality in our society, and some manifestations in the morality and behavior of some people in our country incompatible with socialism -- gross disciplinary violations, erroneous attitude toward labor, socialist property, and social obligations, and so on.

All this obligates us, the workers on the cultural front and in literature and the arts, particularly greatly, for all these contradictions, as indicated in the July plenum, are concentrated, in the final account, in the individual, in the level of the training and awareness of the socialist worker -- the creator of all material and spiritual goods in our country.

Hence the great responsibility of literature and art, particularly in raising the young generation. It is of exceptional importance for literature and art to contribute maximally to the solution of the triple problem of youth education -- molding highly cultured, professionally trained, and ideologically tempered working people.

Should education of the youth fail to include these three tasks in their indivisible unity, the real danger exists that young people tending toward a petty bourgeois life, trying to lead an irresponsible life, without noble objectives and ideals, may develop.

It is obvious that should the ideological and cultural fronts fail to understand properly their place and role in the solution of this triple problem, and fail to focus their activities in that direction, they would be unable to meet the current requirements of our socioeconomic development.

Indeed, comrades, what a fertile field exists for creativity, for the recreation of the vital phenomena and problems linked with the fierce struggle between the old and the new, affecting the family, school, labor collective, personality, and relations within our society; what extensive possibilities exist for manifestation of the young creative workers, for the display of their innovative and daring spirit, and for their own ideological and professional growth.

It is clear, however, that this calls for mastering not only professional skill but a Marxist-Leninist outlook, for making a profound study

of reality, properly studying the open and concealed processes in social life, and studying the legitimate course of historical development.

In the opposite case, it would be difficult to recreate the truthful picture of our reality, assess properly phenomena and processes, and apply constructively the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

Unfortunately, however, such examples may be found in our literature, even though they do not characterize its condition. However, we cannot ignore individual manifestations on the part of our creative workers who pay dues to petty topics, petty bourgeois individualism, or egocentrism, and in the final account end up with attempts to revise some views of our theory and practice and undermine sacred gains and values of our party and socialist system.

Comrades:

As Comrade Panteley Zarev properly emphasized in the accountability report, in the field of artistic creativity, literature, art and culture, we support and must support the class-party approach in the assessment, study and recreation of phenomena in social life. Experience has frequently proved, not in the fields of art and culture alone, that we pay a high price for any deviation from Marxist-Leninist communist party-mindedness and from the class approach. This is the only approach that enables us to stand firmly on the positions of the working class, socialism, and communism, the positions of our national and international interests.

Both our national and international interests dictate that in art and culture as well, we must intensify our cooperation and integration with the literature, art and culture of the socialist countries and above all, the literature, art and culture of the great Soviet Union.

It was not since today or yesterday, but in the years of fascist dictatorship and of the building of socialism, that Soviet literature, art and culture have been penetrating extensively into our life. Now they are having a powerful impact on the molding of the new socialist person, and the new socialist way of life. This is entirely natural, for this is a socialist culture, the culture of a great nation heading human progress. That is why Soviet culture is our culture as well. Both are socialist cultures.

That is why the line of our party which is systematically supported by the Committee for Art and Culture is to open ever more widely our doors to Soviet literature, art and culture, while making Bulgarian culture popular among an ever larger number of Soviet people. This is a two-way process of interpenetration and enrichment, which we shall continue to expand with all possible forces.

Allow me, dear comrades, once again to welcome you most sincerely and wish you fruitful work in the congress, new creative gains and discoveries, and new steps and peaks in the artistic representation of our great times for the good and happiness of our splendid people, and for the upsurge and blossoming of our new, socialist artistic literature and culture.

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CSO: 2200

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY WRITERS' THIRD CONGRESS

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Oct 76 pp 1-2

[Text] - The Third Congress of the Bulgarian Writers' Union was held in a remarkable period in the life of the Bulgarian people and our artistic intelligentsia -- the time following the historical 11th party congress and its July plenum. The light of these exceptionally important sociopolitical events has penetrated all the thrusts and thoughts of the contemporary creators of literature who presented themselves at their third congress with a high feeling of duty and responsibility to the party, the people, and the homeland.

Both the report submitted by the management of the Bulgarian Writers' Union and the lively debates and statements made a profound creative balance of the achievements and weaknesses in the interval between the two congresses. A number of topical problems were discussed and prospects for the Union's future activities were earmarked.

In the years between the second and third congresses, the Bulgarian writers of all generations enriched contemporary literature with a number of highly ideological and artistic works, some of which will become part of the golden stock of our socialist culture, describing to our offspring today's struggles, difficulties and victories, and today's great and beautiful day of socialist Bulgaria.

The vivid works of art created between the two congresses represent real achievements of the creative climate and broad scope opened following the historical April plenum, whose 20th anniversary coincided with the 11th congress. These works of art are the pride not only of the individual creators or the writers' union. They are the pride and glory of our national culture and our socialist fatherland, which in 32 years of free life assumed a worthy place among the most advanced countries in the world.

Convinced of the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and imbued with a feeling of patriotism and internationalism, the Bulgarian writers marched firmly and will continue to march under the banner of socialist realism.

From the rostrum of the third congress, the writers of socialist Bulgaria proved once again their unity and solidarity around the Bulgarian Communist Party and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhiykov, and around the April line. They expressed their deep gratitude for the constant concern and great attention, and for the communist trust.

The assessment which contemporary Bulgarian literature was given at the 11th party congress was the natural center of both the report and the debates.

Comrade Todor Zhiykov emphasized in the accountability report of the BCP Central Committee that "some 18 years ago the Central Committee raised the slogan of 'More among the people, closer to life!' We could say today with satisfaction that in recent years, and particularly between the two congresses, an upturn has already become apparent from a more or less single to a mass orientation on the part of the writers to problems of our socialist times. The best representatives of our artistic intelligentsia have created works reflecting, truthfully and with increased professional skill, the basic processes in life and the growth of the new man. As valuable gains of Bulgarian socialist artistic culture, these works confirm the correctness and fruitfulness of our party's April line, of the Leninist principles in the management of literature and the arts, and of the method of socialist realism."

This high and prestigious party assessment represents yet another strong moral incentive for the Bulgarian writers on their path to the mastering of new peaks and the creation of modern socialist classics. At the same time, however, Comrade Todor Zhiykov stated in his report that "the change that has become apparent in a turn toward the problems of our time has not yet brought about an upturn in the mastering of contemporary topics in their entire historical scale and significance," and that "the main obstacles on the path to implementing good intentions and aspirations are the insufficiently adequate knowledge of life and the underestimation of the struggle for high artistic mastery."

These accurate and precise observations and instructions issued by our party and state leader turn into a new and strong impetus in every Bulgarian writer. They must become a program for our future activities. Knowledge of life and the spirituality of the new man, the struggle for highly artistic mastery and ideological principle-mindedness, combined with a feeling of responsibility of the writer toward his own talent, are a safe guarantee for high creative accomplishments and new vivid

manifestations in contemporary Bulgarian socialist literature. Today this is the main and basic factor in the Union's creative and organizational activities. This was clearly emphasized in the greetings presented by the BCP Central Committee to the third congress -- greetings which will be our guiding principle, with their wise indications, in our further ideological-creative and organizational activities.

At the congress the Bulgarian writers noted with satisfaction that the contracts that were signed in recent years with a number of okrugs have yielded positive results. On their basis, many of our noted or young writers became linked with the life of the working people, penetrating the complex problems of their daily work and holidays and writing talented works. The very fact that the party and state leaders of some okrugs requested the renewal of the contracts is significant. This means that the type of link has been established between people and creative workers without which success would be inconceivable. The writers' union will continue to promote the expansion and intensification of this vitally needed link and will simultaneously look for new and even more effective means for linking writers with the life of the people, and above all, that of the working class.

The party's appeal of "more among the people and closer to life!" assumes particular emphasis now, after the July plenum which launched a decisive offensive against negative phenomena in all fields of life. The critical basis of literature, encouraged by the formulations of the July plenum, must be strengthened even further in the struggle for assertion of positive trends in the developed socialist society on the path to communism. Only thus will we be able to say that we have understood and mastered the spirit and principles of the July plenum.

The mastering and study of life must always be linked with the ideological and artistic development of an integral creative personality whose talent is totally dedicated to serving the people. In this respect, the Bulgarian writers have the irreplaceable example of Soviet literature -- a literature which has always fought for revolutionary humanism and for blending entirely with the life of the people, and for profound links with the great cause of the communist party. This is the main manifestation of the new stage in the creative friendship between our union and the Union of Soviet Writers -- our brothers and comrades in the struggle on the ideological front. This reciprocal creative friendship was strengthened even further in the period under consideration.

At their third congress, the Bulgarian writers clearly and categorically expressed their readiness and resolve to struggle for the purity of the communist ideal, the triumph of the great truth, and the victory

of communism. The circumstances following the European Security and Cooperation Conference confirmed yet once again eloquently that there neither is nor could be a disarmament in the field of ideology. The struggle for the minds and hearts of the people knows neither rest nor compromise. It will be fought to the end. The creative writers of socialist Bulgaria will be struggling in the front ranks of this irreconcilable and irreplaceable ideological battle, side by side with their Soviet brothers, and shoulder to shoulder with the writers of the socialist countries and the progressive writers in the capitalist world.

The third congress also dealt with the problems of the younger and youngest literary replacement. A positive assessment was given to the activities of the Young Writer's Office. A number of books written by young poets, novelists, and literary critics were noted. The young writers must resolve a number of new and responsible problems: ideological and artistic skill, vital richness and party aggressiveness. They must penetrate more boldly into the deep strata of life. They must burn more brightly with the problems of the time in which we live so that a worthy literary replacement may develop.

Once again the tremendous role and significance of literary criticism were pointed out at the congress. Some of its individual accomplishments in the period under consideration were noted. A full turn in directing the writers to contemporary topics, bringing them closer to the life of the people, and struggle for high artistic skill and against hostile theories and concepts are problems affecting literary criticism as well. Such criticism must stand on solid class-party positions. It must be principle-minded. It must not be guided by circumstantial considerations. It must have rich knowledge of social and literary development and of the historical path and fate of Bulgarian literature in the past and present. Literary criticism must fight for what is healthy and positive with courage and competence. It must be bold and uncompromising, particularly now, following the instructions of the July plenum. The remarkable speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhiykov to the Sofia Komsomol members represents a clearly delineated program for action for literary criticism.

The following more specific suggestions were formulated at the congress:

The organization and holding of more general meetings in which to discuss ideological-creative problems and the organizational activities of the SBP [Bulgarian Writers' Union];

Energizing the activities of creative sections;

Setting up commissions of an organizational-creative nature by involving a larger number of writers in SBP activities;

Seeking new and even more effective methods for linking the writers with the life of the working people;

Following more closely the activities of writers' societies outside the capital, giving them ideological and creative assistance;

Together with the Komsomol Central Committee, organizing and holding a national conference of young literary workers;

Popularizing more systematically and purposefully Bulgarian works of fiction abroad;

Intensifying the sociopolitical activities of the writer;

Considering improvements in the living conditions of some young writers;

Directing the attention of the Committee on the Press to improving the technical aspect and publication of Bulgarian works.

The third congress faced all Bulgarian writers with important and responsible problems. The main thing is the creation of big highly ideological and artistic works worthy of the great times in which we live. Inspired by the constructive toil of the Bulgarian people and the historical resolutions of the 11th congress and the July plenum, united and rallied around the party's Leninist April line, the Bulgarian writers are taking the path to new peaks and new horizons. This is Bulgaria's great path leading to the beautiful world of communism. This is also the great path of our socialist literature.

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ZAREV DELIVERS CONCLUDING SPEECH AT WRITERS' CONGRESS

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Oct 76 p 1

[Speech by Academician Panteley Zarev, chairman, Bulgarian Writers' Union] -

[Text] Comrades:

The Third Congress of the Bulgarian Writers' Union is behind us. It has already become a page in the chronicle of our union. Allow me to say that it will be a bright and beautiful page. We were honored by the attention of the Politburo and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Central Committee first secretary, and great friend of our literature. This attention touches us. It was yet another high assessment of the creator of literature, and the role and significance of the writer in our overall cultural and social life. The Central Committee addressed greetings to us and our congress. These were profoundly meaningful greetings, indicating the objective gains of our literature and pointing out weaknesses and unimplemented tasks, showing us prospects for our further creative upsurge. Allow me on your behalf, on behalf of the congress, to express our profound gratitude for the great attention and to assure the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo, and personally, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Central Committee first secretary, that as in the past we shall remain the loyal and devoted troops of our party and socialist ideal, fighters through the pen and the word for the communist future of our splendid people. We shall do everything possible for their accomplishments, spirituality, new morality, and spiritual character to live in works of art. The newly elected management of the Union will interpret seriously the recommendations given to us in the greetings and will devote efforts for their factual implementation.

Our congress took place as a rich discussion on creative and topical problems of our contemporary literature. In the course of this

discussion, important problems of our creative work included in the report were considered, interpreted, and given priority. New views and new ideas were suggested, considerably broadening and enriching the report. We heard the words of the speakers, feeling their temperament, their thinking. At the same time, we had the feeling that our collective mind and productive will are speaking in a rich and varied manner.

The ideas presented in the statements and the suggestions made will be attentively discussed by the new management, which will take from them everything considered effective in its future work.

Allow me to add that this management was elected with a feeling of trust and that it has the obligation to justify this high trust.

Allow me to thank all those who took the floor, as well as those who did not, but who wished to express themselves and help our activities, making them effective and fruitful.

Allow me to express my profound gratitude to our guests, representatives of Soviet literature and of the literatures of our fraternal socialist countries. We shall carry in our hearts their warm greetings. We shall know in our future work that they are shoulder to shoulder with us, helping us in our common and difficult cause, as we do it according to our forces in our international efforts. I beg the representative of the Soviet delegation and the representatives of the delegations of the fraternal socialist countries to carry with them our warmest and heartiest greetings to our colleagues in the Soviet Union and the creators in the socialist countries, close to us by their thoughts and ideas, assuring them that our congress passed decisions useful to our common cause as well.

Comrades, good luck in our present and future creative work and our future joint creative discussions and talks on the further upsurge of the living and immortal Bulgarian literature.

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BULGARIA

LIST OF WRITERS' UNION ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Oct 76 p 1

[Text] SBP [Bulgarian Writers' Union] Administratiye Council

Angel Todorov	Zdrayko Petrov
Andrey Germanov	Iyan Dayidkov
Andrey Gulyashki	Iyan Martinov
Asen Bosev	Iyan Ruzh
Atanas Nakoyski	Iyan Tsvetkov
Bogomil Raynov	Yordan Radichkov
Bozhidar Bozhilov	Kamen Zidarov
Vasil Koleyski	Kamen Kalchev
Veselin Andreev	Kosta Strandzhev
Vladimir Golev	Lilyana Stefanova
Gencho Stoev	Lyubomir Levchev
Georgi Karaslayov	Luchezar Elenkov
Georgi Markov	Matey Shopkin
Georgi Syezhin	Mladen Isaev
Georgi Strumski	Nikola Rusev
Dimitur Gundov	Nikolay Zidarov
Dimitur Metodiev	Nikolay Khaytov
Dimitur Panteleev	Nikolay Khristozov
Diko Fuchedzhiev	Payel Vezhinov
Dobri Zhotev	Pantelev Zarev
Dora Gabe	Pencho Danchev
Dragomir Asenov	Petur Dinekov
Elisaveta Bagryana	Petur Karaangov
Eytim Eytimov	Rangel Ignatov
Emil Manov	Simeon Sultanov
Emil Petrov	Slav Khr. Karaslayov
Emiliyan Stanev	Toncho Zhechev
Efrem Karanfilov	

Administratiye Council Bureau

Chairman:
Academician Panteley Zarey

First Deputy Chairman:
Bogomil Raynov

Deputy Chairmen:
Andrey Gulyashki
Kamen Kalchey
Pencho Danchey

General Secretary:
Slay Khr. Karaslayov

Secretaries:
Dragomir Asenoy

Iyan Tsvetkoy
Luchezar Elenkoy
Matey Shopkin

Bureau Members:

Andrey Germanoy
Bozhidar Bozhilov
Vladimir Goley
Georgi Karaslayov
Dimitur Gundoy
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BULGARIA

ACADEMICIAN TOPENCHAROV CRITICIZES SOME WRITERS

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 1 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Academician Vladimir Topencharov: "Remark -- Escape to Bozhentsi"]

[Text] I had the occasion to pass by Bozhentsi Village. Were we in the process today of renaming settlements I would rename Bozhentsi into Bezhantsi [refugees] or give it another somewhat better sounding name to express the flight of some of our writing brothers from cities and "human vanity." Writers and poets have settled in Bozhentsi on a year-around basis not for recreation but for "creative work." Far from the people... they sit all day long and write... about the people -- what the people have done, what the people have felt, what the people were doing and what the people would do. They have installed television sets and telephones in their offices. They see new developments... on the television screen and through the telephone wire.

There is nothing original in this flight from the people. Such a phenomenon has existed for quite some time in the West, in France, for example. Writers, poets, and painters leave Paris and the big cities and live in their distant mountain homes, "take to the forest" to write. Thus, imitating them, our writers and poets as well live in the Bozhentsi forest and elsewhere, returning to the cities only from time to time to keep in touch with publishing houses, when one of their books is receiving an award, or should one of their plays be staged, or for a party or society meeting. They spend two or three nights in their city apartment. It is as though they live in the forest maintaining a villa in the city.

Not so long ago a writer, to justify this withdrawal from the cities, theorized as follows: in the past "I went to Village A but wrote about Village B." Now, however, he believes that this will no longer be necessary -- he has "gained experience," watching our entire life, and can write without moving from enterprise to enterprise or from agroindustrial complex to agroindustrial complex...

This has become the theory of flight to Bozhentsi. Bozhentsi Village reflects part of a condition the way a drop reflects part of the world.

No, naturally, I do not suggest that those who withdraw from the people go like Maoists to enterprises and cooperative farms to work 7 to 8 hours a day in order to gain direct impressions and, in the evening, overtired, go on writing "under the flickering light." No. However, in order to be able to think like a socialist worker it nevertheless means to live like a person among people and to see them not through a glass panel or from a distance.

Our writers have given an oath based on the party slogan of "closer to life, and more among the people." Yet... they go (I hope not too many!) to the forest wilderness. And then people wonder why our young poets, imitating the old, write, "I have mountains around me and an unexplainable silence..."

Poet, why is it "unexplainable?" You are in the forest and you yourself have written under your verses... "Written in Bozhentsi Village," on thus and such a day.

I personally write under this friendly even though not so pleasant remark: place: "July Plenum," and today as the date.

5003
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BULGARIA

TOPENCHAROV'S ABSURD CRITICISM DENOUNCED

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Nov 76 p 3

[Letter to the editors by Andrey Germanov: "In the Orbit of Gossip"]

[Text] The last issue of the POGLED presented us with a remark by Academician Vladimir Topencharov.

In this remark, with his familiar profound tone of voice and instructively raised finger, the author expresses his indignation of the fact that several of our writing brothers live in Bozhentsi, the Gabrovo village, condemning them as refugees from life. Allegedly writers and poets have gathered in the wilderness, totally separated from the people, equipping their offices (?!?) with telephones and television sets, looking at life through television screens, sitting and writing the year around. The wilderness was their home while the capital was where they kept their villa. They had specially retained apartments in Sofia, visiting them for 1 or 2 days to receive one award or another, then returning to their wilderness.

Comrade Topencharov has spent a long time in Europe and, after the big crowds, he has failed to notice that in the small Bozhentsi Village as well there are people -- people like all nice Bulgarians. He seems to have forgotten a few things such as, for example, that the people of Gabrovo have a sense of humor. Thus, he has found himself the innocent victim of a joker who has "provided him" with such "information." I would not like to alarm Academician Topencharov particularly. However, I will say to him that Bozhentsi is not the only "writers' wilderness." One finds writers in Pryanovo and Gesha, as well as in Denchevtsi, where there are even two of them. Furthermore, Gabrovo Okrug is not the only such place. There are writers in all okrugs and seven of them have writers' societies. This pharisee has assumed a rather wide scope clearly as yet unsuspected by our author.

The fact that a deserving journalist has been awarded the title academician does not as yet free him from something basic; to know what he is writing about. However, Comrade Topencharov has written his "pearl," lovingly

described as "a friendly even though not so pleasant remark," by mangling the facts. It is true that five members of the SBP [Bulgarian Writers' Union] have houses in Bozhentsi. It is true that two of them spend most of their time there. They are retired and are free to live wherever they want. It is true that they have telephones and one of them perhaps even a television set. Yet the village houses in Bozhentsi have over 20 telephones and every house has its television set. Such is the way of life of the modern Bulgarian village, nothing we could do about it. As to his statement concerning the other three it is pure fabrication which, to use nonliterary language, could be described as slander. It is quite strange that Academician Topencharov who, recently, has begun actively to publish in our newspapers and magazines articles on all topics (unfortunately not always competently) seems not to be regularly following the press. Otherwise, he could easily note that one of the "refugees" in the wilderness he condemns as having neglected work, home, and children, is the chief secretary of the SBP; the second is the editor in chief of the periodical PLAMUK; the third is the first deputy editor in chief of LITERATUREN FRONT. The work of all three is such as to require the permanent presence in Sofia. How can they stay in the wilderness throughout the year! They would have liked to spend there their annual leave. However, not even that is possible!

Apparently our author does not watch television very regularly as well. This, at least, does not require any particular stress. Television broadcasts would have told him that quite recently Bulgarian writers held their congress. He would have also heard the speech by Academician Panteley Zarev. He would have realized that in the past 3 to 4 years the management of the SBP assumed as its basic task that of directing the writers toward contemporary topics and linking them with the working people throughout the country. The report presents the factual positive results of the implementation of this task. This is far from being an individual whim but part of the broad cultural policy implemented by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The lack of information displayed by Comrade Topencharov proves to us that someone may become a "refugee" without bothering to flee all the way to Bozhentsi. He could simply alienate himself and forget facts or truths even if living in the capital. In his ignorance, to put it mildly, he may deny some nice things occurring in our country.

Academician Topencharov claims that such a bad fashion (of writers seeking solitude when writing) has been started in the West, in bourgeois France. Here again he is displaying amazing lack of information. This is not the case in France alone. Throughout the world writers seek solitude when they must write. Mikhail Sholokhov and Valentin Rasputin, Vasil Bykov and Rasul Gamzatov live far from the capital; Chekhov and Gor'kiy had also "escaped" from the capital. There was yet one more, I believe his name was Leo Tolstoy. Let us not mention the fact that today an entire writers' village consisting of several hundred houses -- Peredelkino -- is located several tens of kilometers from Moscow, and that there are hundreds of

other writers' houses in Vnukovo and in a great variety of villages closer to or more distant from the capital. No one is thinking of accusing the Soviet writers of running around the wilderness! On the contrary, the results of such a "flight" are on the shelves of the bookstores. We believe that Comrade Topencharov may have seen them. The ploughman needs land; the worker needs a lathe; the writer needs a table and a little bit of free time. It is his sacred right to look for such a place so that his thoughts may ripen and so that he may interpret his observations and impressions. We do not know where Comrade Topencharov's journalistic thoughts and ideas ripen. That is his business. What matter is that he should not impose upon us his own patterns.

This entire matter, this remark in POGLED is not serious. We would have ignored it had we not had an obligation to the thousands of our readers to present the truth and protect them from some errors concerning the Bulgarian writers, as insinuated by the author. We are surprised, however, at such a furious and gossiping digging into the private life of the writer and the unexplainable malicious tone of the remark. Complacency and self-delusion are forgiveable human sins. What is unpleasant is when they affect people who have gained social prestige. The journalist Vladimir Topencharov is known by thousands of readers. They expect of him the truth of our time and people rather than fabrications based on anger and personal feelings and passions. The opposite would be regrettable both in terms of our journalism and the editors of the respected newspaper POGLED who agreed, lightheartedly and irresponsibly, to publish a stupidity such as the remark by Comrade Topencharov and find themselves launched in the orbit of cheap petty bourgeois gossip.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SALGOVIC: UNITY BETWEEN CPCZ AND PEOPLE A BASIC REQUIREMENT

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 9, Sep 76 pp 18-31

[Article by Viliam Salgovic, member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee's Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council: "Unity of the People Is the Basis of Our System"]

[Text] Socialist society provides new conditions for the people's greater role in securing the development of society's entire life. Socialism ends man's exploitation by man and creates new production relations, relations of cooperation and mutual assistance. On the foundation of the new material base, socialism rapidly develops all aspects of the people's life. It devotes enormous concern to culture and education, to the workers' socialist indoctrination, and to the all-round and purposeful development of the individual. Socialism provides the basic prerequisites for reconciling personal interest with the essential interests of society as a whole, for realizing the workers' aspirations and objectives when fulfilling the essential interests of society. Simultaneously it attracts masses in the millions, to participation in the affairs of society and in public life, converting the masses into a creative, active and decisive social subject. Socialist society thus diametrically differs from capitalist society and permits the emergence and development of the people's new historical role.

Under capitalism, the primary objective of which is profit, man's labor is the main source of the ruling classes' wealth. Labor assumes a one-sided nature, and the workers are unable to develop their creative activity at work, because this is not in their interest. Socialism radically changes man's attitude to labor. The elimination of exploitation has liberated labor, and human labor that creates wealth for society now serves to satisfy the needs of the individual and of society. Thereby new conditions have been created for harmony between the interests of the individual and of society, for the emergence of the people's creative and initiative work, for the free development of every individual and of entire society jointly. The establishment of new production relations and, on their basis, the liberation of labor are the basic factor of the workers' ever-wider participation in building socialism, and of their decisive role in developing a new socialist system. The new historical role of the popular masses under the conditions of socialism lies in their conscious creative activity at work, which is simultaneously a manifestation of the new mutual relationship among

people, and of the conscious solution and formation of the unity of society and of the individual. Experience with the construction of socialism in the socialist countries, and our own experience clearly confirm this. At the 15th CPCZ Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized: "Our road to socialism also indicates what enormous forces are liberated in the people when they exercise political power and are led by a Marxist-Leninist party. The face of our country has changed from its very foundation. The people have become the true master of their country and are consciously shaping their own destiny."

The classics of Marxism-Leninism scientifically proved the falsehood of various bourgeois theories concerning the historical role of the masses and of the individual. The concepts of bourgeois ideologists have been, and essentially still are, founded on the idea that outstanding individuals play the decisive role in the historical process, while the masses are only actors in these individuals' plans and objectives or even affect the social processes negatively. Lately several bourgeois ideologists, and their accomplices among the reformists and revisionists, have been associating this idealized role of outstanding individuals with socially elite groups. These elitist theories were advanced also in our country during the crisis of 1968 and 1969; they attempted to repudiate the leading role of the working class and the decisive role of the wide working masses in building socialism.

Marxism-Leninism does not deny the great role that politicians, scientists, artists and the intelligentsia in general play in socialist society. Their role in our society is constantly rising, just as the importance of the subjective factor is rising in building an advanced socialist society. They play an important role when they understand the real needs of society, devote all their effort to the realization of these needs and are inseparably linked to the overall efforts of the widest popular masses. Their role, just as the role of the people, cannot be understood properly when it is divorced from social classes and political parties. Specifically the bourgeois ideologists and their lackeys are striving at all cost to deny the class nature of present-day society. They are attempting to prove that the "old," "classical" division of society into classes has ceased to apply in developed capitalist societies and even in the socialist countries; that society, instead of classes, is structured differently and is led by an elite of scientists, production engineers, managers, i.e., by a middle stratum that is not limited by class subjectivism and for this very reason is able to ensure the harmony of society's interests. The right wing in our country latched on to these ideological sources in advocating its elitist theories.

All attempts by bourgeois ideologists to present capitalist society of today as a classless society are merely efforts to mask the irreconcilable conflict of class interests between the proletariat and other exploited strata on the one hand, and the imperialist bourgeoisie as the ruling class on the other hand, to achieve that the proletariat and other workers think and act in the spirit of the bourgeoisie's class interests.

In the present stage of building an advanced socialist society, just as in the past, there is a class structure in the socialist countries. It is

common knowledge that socialist society basically differs from capitalist society not in that socialism has abolished social classes, rather in that socialism has placed social classes on a new foundation, determined by socialist production conditions. In Czechoslovakia, just as in the other socialist countries, the ruling class is the working class that--in an alliance with the class of cooperative farmers, and with the intelligentsia and other workers, based on relations of mutual cooperation and assistance--is realizing its historical mission of developing socialism and of building a communist society.

Starting out from the experience of the entire international communist movement and from its own experience in fighting for socialism, the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "Modern history confirms that the working class, led by a party founded consistently on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, plays the decisive role in the social system's revolutionary transformation and in the entire further development toward communism. Only the working class is able to overcome all the hardships and obstacles in the revolutionary process and in building a new society, to reconcile the interests of the classes and strata of working people, and to lead them toward the realization of the most progressive social ideals, the ideals of communism."¹ The leading role of the working class under socialism, then, does not stem from the Communists' "desire," rather it is of an objective, permanent and generally valid nature. It is determined by the status of the working class in production, as the owner and principal creator of material values, due to the fact that the working class is the largest social class and is constantly growing (it comprises more than 60 percent of our population), that it is distinguished by revolutionary and progressive traits such as its consciousness, initiative and creative attitude to work, social responsibility, high degree of organization, selflessness, collectivism, toughness, ability to overcome hardships, a sense for the new and progressive in society, and the constant acquisition of a new style of thinking. The leading role of the working class is determined also by the fact that the basic interests of this class are identical with the most particular interests of all other workers, and that the realization of these interests fulfills the objectives and aspirations of wide popular strata.

In our society the leading role of the working class is increasing constantly. This necessarily follows from the magnitude and complexity of the tasks, and from their mutual interdependence and interconnection, that must be fulfilled and solved in the course of building an advanced socialist society, within the internal life of our country as well as in shaping our external relations. However, the leading role of the working class and the growth of this role do not occur automatically. This leading role can be realized only if the following conditions are met: (1) if the working class is led by a Marxist-Leninist party; (2) if in its activity the working class adheres consistently to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism; (3) if it maintains and strengthens its close contact with the other working strata; and (4) if it understands that the tasks of building socialism in its own country are inseparable from the tasks of the entire socialist community, international communist movement, and struggle for peace and social progress.

Our own experience during the crisis of 1968 and 1969 unambiguously confirms that the abandonment of these principles or their negation not only ends the leading role of the working class but also harbors acute danger for the cause of socialism. The working class realizes its role as the leading force of society through its vanguard, the Communist Party. Through its political, organizing and ideological activity the Communist Party unites the ranks of the working class, constantly raises this class to its own level, develops its creative forces and abilities and thereby strengthens its position within society. All attempts by right-wing forces to separate the Czechoslovak CP from the working class, to transform it into a party of a so-called intellectual elite that would have stood above the working class, simultaneously to end the leading role of the CP in society and to transform it into one of the many political parties that would have had to fight for the right to lead society, were directed against the role and interests of the working class. After the April 1969 plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, therefore, the new leadership of our party headed by Comrade Gustav Husak had to exert great effort to remove all the distortions in this relationship and to gradually restore to its full scope the party's leading role in all areas of our life, and the role of the working class as the leading force in our society. At the 14th CPCZ Congress it was clearly emphasized that a strong and developed working class was and would remain the leading force in the development of our society, and that our party as the party of the working class would exert every effort to strengthen its position. And specifically the working class, through its standpoints and its support of the sound forces within the party, was one of the decisive factors in the successful progress of the consolidation process, and eventually in the realization of the policy set by the 14th CPCZ Congress, and also in the clear victories that we achieved during the past period. At its 15th party congress the CPCZ emphasized: "We will always bear in mind the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, that only the political party that recognizes the leading role of the working class in society's revolutionary transformation has the right to be its vanguard, is a truly revolutionary party, one based on scientific communism."² In this we see simultaneously one of the basic guarantees of fulfilling the tasks set by the 15th CPCZ Congress, and of further progress in building socialism.

Even under the present conditions, the leading role of the working class is realized through struggle for implementing the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. On the successful realization of this policy depend the status of the working class within society, and the extent to which its basic objectives and the interests of the other social strata are realized. A basic guarantee of the soundness of our chosen road ahead is the policy of the Communist Party that consistently applies Marxist-Leninist doctrine to its activity. The experience of the international communist movement as well as our own experience have taught us that any departure from Marxist-Leninist theory, from its creative application, and its replacement with the ideology of the bourgeoisie or petit bourgeoisie, as was evident also in our country during the crisis of 1968 and 1969, mean the undermining and liquidation of the leading role of the working class and of the Communist Party, their isolation from the wide working masses, and harbor the danger of counterrevolutionary turmoil. Our party has renewed its Marxist-Leninist

character. In political struggle it defeated the right-wing forces. And ideologically it placed itself solidly on the scientific foundation of Marxism-Leninism. At its 14th congress the party formulated a policy based consistently on this scientific ideology. The results that we achieved in the construction of socialism after the 14th party congress confirmed the soundness and realistic nature of this policy, as this was established also at the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized that at present it was essential to devote special attention to educating the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. This aspect of ideological and educational work is exceptionally important because it is becoming a vital factor in strengthening the unity of our people, as well as the unity of all socialist forces and of the revolutionary movement oriented on social progress, on freeing mankind from the rule of capital, and on the defense of peace. Important is the workers' education in the spirit of a scientific world outlook as a system of not only concepts of the world as a whole, but also of the aggregate of the political, ideological, ethical and esthetical views that must characterize the builder of socialist society. A creative, and effective socialist attitude to work is becoming one of the basic criteria of overall ideological and educational activity. Man's socialist profile and his ideological values best manifest themselves in creative work for society and simultaneously react upon his formation. On this basis and in combination with the other tasks in education and training, socialist man's personality is being formed, and this also contributes toward the further intensification and strengthening of socialist relations among people. The 15th party congress emphasized; "The point is that Communists and ever-wider working strata systematically learn the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and apply them creatively and consistently to practice. The workers' socialist awareness, and the high level of their intellectual, ideological, political, moral and cultural life are one of the basic prerequisites for man's conscious activity in socialist society."³

The basis of correctly asserting and lending substance to the leading role of the working class and of the party is the strengthening of their unity and close contact with the wide working strata. This is realized through various forms of political, economic, ideological, educational and organizing activity that is based on and starts out from the policy of the CP. In party documents, particularly in the more recent ones, it is repeatedly emphasized that the Communists and the working class are not building socialism merely for themselves, rather its achievements and results are intended to serve and benefit all the workers. It is likewise impossible to build socialism merely with the forces of the Communists or of the working class. The construction of socialism, if it is to be successful, must become the cause of the widest popular strata. Successes in building socialism can be achieved only if the popular strata, numbering in the millions, identify with the tasks of building socialism and participate actively and creatively in the realization of these tasks. Socialism, as our party emphasizes, is the work of the popular masses. Here the party has borrowed Lenin's idea who said: "The live, creative force of the masses is the principal factor of new social life . . . live, creative socialism is a product of the popular masses themselves."⁴

An expression of this contact is the strong alliance of the working class with the class of cooperative farmers and with the intelligentsia, under the leadership of the Communist Party. Even under socialism, under the relations of mutual assistance and cooperation, the interests of the individual social classes and strata remain differentiated and limited in many respects; these interests are determined by the position of the classes and strata in the social division of labor, by the level of awareness, and by other peculiarities of their historical development and of the period in which they are living. And specifically to reflect the interests of society as a whole and to act within the framework of its needs, the working class must be led by the Marxist-Leninist party. The party's leading role as the highest form of asserting the conscious element in social development and in the building of socialism ensures, in particular through the party's many-sided activity, that the working class acts in the spirit of its basic interests. And this, of course, applies increasingly to the class of cooperative farmers, to the intelligentsia and to other workers.

It is common knowledge that in Czechoslovakia the representatives of the right-wing forces attempted to undermine in every possible way the unity of the party and the people, expressed in the alliance of the working class, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other workers. By rejecting the leading role of the working class and of its party, they advanced various group interests and needs, from which the priorities of society were to be determined. It is obvious that their purpose was not the perfection of the system of managing society, rather its replacement by a system that would promote the interests of the social elite and would direct the development of entire society in the spirit of this elite. We rejected these and similar concepts. Under the new leadership after the April 1969 plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, the party's unity and its ability to take action were restored on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the alliance of the working class with the other workers was reinforced.

Specifically this fact became a decisive factor in the fulfillment of the policy set by the 14th party congress, and in the enormous upsurge of the people's creative activity now after the 15th CPCZ Congress. The party, which sets the basic objectives of society as a whole, does not ignore the interests and needs of the various classes, social groups and individuals. To the contrary, the party starts out from these interests and needs and points out that the implementation of party policy will mean the realization of their justifiable and real needs. Relations among people are solved purposefully under socialism, and their needs are ensured systematically and in a planned manner, in the interest of society, of the social classes and groups, and of the individual. All this has led and is leading to the high creative initiative and activity of the workers in all areas of our social life. This activity manifests itself very clearly in the sphere of material production, which is the most decisive from the viewpoint of our further progress. This is evident from the immense upsurge of socialist competitions and pledges in conjunction with fulfilling the tasks in the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, with special emphasis on the qualitative aspects of production. Convincing proof of this is, for example, the Mlada

Boleslav challenge that includes thousands of blue-collar workers, technicians and other workers, directing their attention to the high quality and reliability of the products, and to utmost economies in production. Additional plants and thousands of workers have joined this movement. We have witnessed similar cases of labor heroism also during this year's harvest, where the objective was to harvest the grain without losses, and to ensure a sufficient supply of feed and fodder. The creative initiative of various groups of the technical, scientific, artistic and other intelligentsia is developing successfully.

This creative activity at work is a concrete expression of the correct interpretation of the policy set by the 15th CPCZ Congress, and of the further strengthening of the unity of the party and the people.

The construction of socialism is an international cause. Our experience to date confirms that whenever we combine the tasks of building socialism in Czechoslovakia with the tasks of developing further the socialist community, the international communist movement, and the struggle for social progress and world peace, we simultaneously are creating optimal conditions for the attainment of our objectives.

Of special importance to us is fraternal cooperation with the individual socialist countries and with the Soviet Union in particular. Among the socialist countries there have developed relations of an entirely new type, relations of cooperation and mutual assistance. Since the very inception of the individual socialist countries there has developed among them on this basis cooperation in the economic, political, ideological, cultural, scientific and other fields, and the forms of mutual cooperation are being intensified and broadened constantly. All this not only serves to strengthen the socialist community but is also one of the decisive prerequisites for the success of building socialism in the individual countries. The socialist world system is linked together by common interests and objectives, and by strong ties of socialist international solidarity. These relations are determined by the same types of political system, economic base and ideology, and by the common objectives of building socialism and communism, as well as by defending them against domestic and foreign enemies.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism always emphasized the international character of the working class movement, and our party also is trying to combine scientific socialism with the international working-class and mass movement, and to concentrate on decisive tasks of an international nature, on the solution of which will depend also our revolutionary progress. Implementation of the slogan "Proletarians of the World, Unite" under the conditions of our time--a manifestation of concrete every-day assistance and solidarity--is an essential prerequisite for strengthening the unity of the working class with the other workers in our country. Therefore the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized that also in the future we will help create conditions "for undisturbed construction, for the secure livelihood and peaceful life of our people. We will intensify and develop international relations with the fraternal countries, and we will continue to strengthen our eternal friendship with the

Soviet Union, which is the foundation of our state and national independence, of our socialist fatherland's security and peaceful life."⁵

The 15th CPCZ Congress was held in the spirit of its slogan, "In Firm Unity of the CPCZ and the People, for Further Success in Building an Advanced Socialist Society." This slogan expresses the foundation and content of developing and strengthening the unity of the people also in the future. It requires a further rise of the party's leading role in all areas of our society's life, and greater effectiveness of its political, organizing, ideological and educational activity among the workers. The unity of the Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive foundation of the workers' party leadership, and of their political and action unity.

The unity of the people is forged in effective work, in struggle for the fulfillment of the concrete tasks of building socialism. In every period the unity of the people has its specific meaning. In the past period, this unity was realized in that wide working masses identified with the policy set by the 14th CPCZ Congress and participated actively and with initiative in its realization. Today the meaning of the people's unity is provided by the program for building an advanced socialist society, adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress. Our entire society is confronted with unprecedented great and demanding tasks. In the economic sphere the main objective of our efforts is to ensure, in agreement with the intensification of the socialist way of life, the satisfaction of the population's ever-greater material and intellectual needs, and to further strengthen the population's livelihood and social security, on the basis of highly efficient social production and the good quality of all work. Furthermore, we must strengthen and intensify socialist production relations, actively influence the process of narrowing the differences between the individual classes and social strata, nations and nationalities. Attention will shift to the tasks in conjunction with developing society's political organization and with intensifying socialist democracy. The requirements on the entire sphere of ideological, educational and cultural activity have been raised. As the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized, it is essential to perfect this activity in all directions: in theory, propaganda, every-day political work among the masses, in the activity of all operating educational, scientific and cultural institutions. Our country will continue to contribute toward the intensification of relations with socialist countries, and to increase its participation in the realization of the tasks stemming from the efforts to strengthen the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, and the struggle for peace.

The results of fulfilling the tasks in this year's state plan indicate that the program approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress has been correctly understood by the workers, and that they are fulfilling these tasks in all areas, by their selfless and fruitful work. The unity of the party and people is being strengthened, and this is the source of our revolutionary optimism regarding the future, and of our firm conviction about the further gains of socialism.

The unity of the people is being formed and strengthened not only through the workers' participation in the realization of policy tasks but also through their growing role in the formulation of the plans and objectives

of entire society. Our socialist political system is of ever-greater significance from the viewpoint of including the widest popular masses in the management of affairs that concern entire society. As the 15th CPCZ Congress pointed out, "A political system in which the leading role is played by a political party of the Leninist type belongs among the greatest revolutionary achievements of the working class. Only through this party is the working class able to assert its basic interests, to realize its historical mission and to unite all the workers in the struggle for the victory of socialism."⁶ This class base of our political system guarantees that it is profoundly democratic. Within its individual components the efforts of the widest working masses are united, enabling them to participate in the political and public life of our country. The Czechoslovak Communist Party systematically concerns itself with intensifying the socialist character of society's political organization. It purposefully strengthens and broadens the leading role of the working class, and the participation of the other classes and strata in matters that concern society as a whole.

The state occupies the decisive place in socialist society's political organization. As the instrument of the power of the working class and of the workers, our socialist state is undergoing changes while building socialism. Its class base is being expanded, specifically in the sense that more and more workers are participating in the management of the state's affairs, and that the state is solving--in their name and with their participation--ever-greater and more-complex tasks. The ever-wider participation of the workers in the management and administration of their affairs is simultaneously a manifestation of the further development of socialist democracy. The state's creative functions are increasing simultaneously, especially its economy-organizing and cultural and educational functions. The state performs its unique tasks also in defending the workers' socialist achievements. It is an active instrument for ensuring favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism. Our socialist state enjoys the full confidence of the people and by its activity serves to ensure the realization of the basic interests of the working class and of the widest working strata, to protect and strengthen their livelihood and political and social security. Through the representative bodies, the workers are participating in the administration and management of state affairs. An important role is played here by the national committees as the basic elements in the system of representation. Within the national committees at the various levels, more and more people are participating directly in their work, also as members of the aktiv that ensures fulfillment of the tasks that a national committee is obliged to assume and resolve. In Slovakia alone, over 20,000 persons are on the various commissions of the national committees, and additional thousands of workers are participating in the national committees' citizen aktivs. Through this participation, the workers become the co-authors of state decisions, the executors of tasks in whose solution local needs are interwoven with all-state matters. Simultaneously the workers participate in the control function that the national committees exercise in various areas of our society's life.

In Slovakia, the Slovak National Council plays an important role in the realization of the tasks of state policy, and in ensuring the further growth

of the Slovak Socialist Republic. During the past period, the Slovak National Council successfully performed the function of the highest organ of state power in Slovakia. It used its legislative and control activity to ensure the tasks that the 14th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL congress set for Slovakia. At present it sees its main role in actively contributing toward the fulfillment of the conclusions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL congress. We are giving preference to the tasks in conjunction with the realization of the plans in the economic, social, educational and cultural spheres. We are striving to have the Slovak National Council increase--through the national committees and the components of the National Front--the workers' participation in the enactment of legislation and in its implementation in everyday life. We will continue to strengthen all the constitutional functions of the Slovak National Council, its control function in particular, so as to constantly improve and perfect the work of all representative and executive organs of the state. In the spirit of the policy adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress, we will develop further the activity of the representatives in their election districts, and of the wide activists of the national committees at the various levels, on which we will continue to rely. All this activity must serve to further strengthen the socialist state, and to fully develop its functions and its democratic essence.

Socialist democracy manifests itself in the people's participation in administration and management, and in the realization of society's tasks. Which means that the individual must devote his strength and ability to serving entire society. This is the unity of every individual's rights and obligations toward society, and of society's rights and obligations toward each individual. The intensification of socialist democracy requires that we develop the activity of every component of the state, together with their independence and initiative.

The socialist state, its organs and organizations, and its individual elements fulfill their unique roles under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This is a relationship in which the state and its organs and institutions adopt the party's policy and basic directives, adapt them to their own conditions and ensure their fulfillment. Simultaneously our party sees to it that the creative activity of the state's organs and institutions, and their independent activity within the limits of the adopted policy be expanded. It leads the Communists working in the state's organs and components to greater independence and decision-making in securing and solving entire society's tasks that stem from the policy of the Communist Party. At the November 1974 plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized: "Any replacement of the state and economic organs and organizations, the usurpation of their decision-making authority inevitably breed alibiism and irresponsibility, weaken the top officials' initiative and result in opportunism in practice. On the other hand, all this weakens in its consequences the leading role and authority of the party, because political-organizing and educational work is neglected and replaced by administrative work."⁷ The party ensures its leading role relative to the state organs and organizations primarily by intensifying its political

leadership, by directing the activity of the Communists and other managing cadres, and by coordinating and controlling the work of all state organs and their components.

The significance of the National Front increases in the course of building an advanced socialist society. Through the individual components of the National Front, especially through the mass social organizations, the majority of the workers participate in society's public and political life. The National Front is a very important element of developing our socialist democracy. Its function and role are not declining but increasing. Within the National Front, the will is expressed and unified of the individual classes and social groups, political parties, and of the nations and nationalities of our country. The National Front is the place where the efforts and diverse activities of the social organizations and political parties are united into a uniform course of action in fulfilling the objectives of entire socialist society, as expressed in the program of our party. Significant are first of all the National Front's political and educational tasks, particularly the education of workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, reinforcement of the scientific world outlook's values in educating the workers in the spirit of socialist collectivism and of a socialist attitude to work, the development of work initiative, and the reinforcement of the socialist way of life. Especially great in this respect is the importance of the revolutionary trade-union movement, of the Socialist Youth Federation, and of the Union of Slovak Women, as basic components of our National Front. In strengthening its leading role in relation to the individual components of the National Front, the party--similarly as in relation to the state--does not replace their tasks and functions, rather it supports their initiative and creative activity and requests that they fulfill the tasks that stem from their unique functions in socialist society. The growing significance of the National Front and of its individual components necessarily strengthens the unity of the people.

The higher stage of building socialism, into which we are now entering, necessarily demands the further development and perfection of the party leadership of the state, social organizations and other components of our society. The dialectics of socialist society's development is such that the Communist Party, which is expanding and intensifying its influence over all institutions and elements of the political system, does not reduce but raises and strengthens them and enhances their role in the life of the country. Specifically the comprehensive development of all forms of the state and social organizations' activity, as well as of the economic, cultural, educational and adult-educational organs, under the leading role of the party, ensures actual socialist democracy and government by the people. On the other hand, the growing activity of the masses, and of the state and social organizations, is a significant factor in the successful realization of party policy, contributes and leads to the strengthening of the party's influence on the construction of socialism.

From the viewpoint of strengthening the unity of our people, of great importance is the Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationality problems, particularly in the relations between the Czech and Slovak nations, realized in constitutional law by the creation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Federation.

Within its framework, the atmosphere of confidence between the Czech and Slovak nations continues to grow, and cooperation that benefits the entire republic and both nations is being strengthened. The 15th CPCZ Congress ordered us "to strengthen the unity of our nations and nationalities, to intensify awareness of Czechoslovak statehood, and thereby to make the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stronger."⁸ Fulfillment of this task will strengthen the unity of the people in our entire country.

At present we are living in the period of preparations for the elections to the representative bodies. For the success of the elections the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized: "This will be an important political event in the life of our society. We are convinced that the elections will be a manifestation of the workers' confidence in the policies of the Czechoslovak CP and National Front."⁹ The objectives that we are setting in the elections, and the content of our activity by which we are ensuring these objectives, are a guaranty that our workers will go to the polls united. The Communist Party's program calls for the further comprehensive development of our society and was approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress. The active attitude of the people after the congress confirms that the workers identify with the policy set by the 15th CPCZ Congress, and that this policy expresses their interests and objectives. During the election campaign we will continue to acquaint the widest public with the conclusions of the congress, and to win the voters for the realization of these conclusions. We are going to the polls with the proven program of the National Front. Which means that not only the competent state organs and institutions but also all components of the National Front are very active in the preparations for, and in the course of, the elections. Their present activity provides reason to believe that the elections will be a manifestation of the people's confidence in the policy of our party.

The election campaign, and the elections themselves provide an excellent opportunity for millions of workers and simultaneously are an instrument for realizing the principles of our socialist democracy. In the elections the widest public has an opportunity to comment on the program for the further construction of socialism, and also to elect representatives to the state's representative bodies, and thereby to influence their composition and activity. Our party is guiding all components so that the democratic provisions of our election system, and the voters' freedom to express their will may be fully respected during the campaign and in the elections. Within the framework of these provisions the party and all components of the National Front are conducting comprehensive activity for the full support and election of the nominated candidates, by the highest possible margin. The point is that in their further activity the newly elected representative bodies should be able to rely on the voters' greatest confidence, to realize with certainty the election programs, and thereby to fulfill the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

The unity of the party and the people is the foundation of our socialist system. We must evaluate our entire activity from this point of view. The strengthening and intensification of this unity are a decisive condition for

building an advanced socialist society in our country, and for fulfilling our international tasks. For us this is a binding principle that the 15th congress of our party strongly emphasized.

FOOTNOTES

1. G. Husak, "Report on the Activity of the Party and the Development of Society Since the 14th CPCZ Congress, and the Party's Further Tasks," PRAVDA, 13 Apr 76.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Spisy" [Works of], Vol 26, Bratislava, 1955, pp 257-258.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. "Zbornik Materialov z Rokovania Plena UV KSC 27.-29. 11. 1974 a Plena UV KSS 3. 12. 1974 o Zabezpecovani Zaverov XIV. Zjazdu KSC a Ulohach na Rok 1975" [Collection of Reports from the 27-29 November 1974 Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and 3 December 1974 Plenum of the CPSL Central Committee, on Ensuring the Conclusions of the 14th CPCZ Congress and on the Tasks for 1975], Pravda Publishing House, 1974, p 31.
8. Ibid
9. Ibid.

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